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THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND

Seventy-five years have passed since Lingard completed his HISTORY OF ENGLAND, *which ends with the Revolution of* 1688. *During that period historical study has made a great advance. Year after year the mass of materials for a new History of England has increased; new lights have been thrown on events and characters, and old errors have been corrected. Many notable works have been written on various periods of our history; some of them at such length as to appeal almost exclusively to professed historical students. It is believed that the time has come when the advance which has been made in the knowledge of English history as a whole should be laid before the public in a single work of fairly adequate size. Such a book should be founded on independent thought and research, but should at the same time be written with a full knowledge of the works of the best modern historians and with a desire to take advantage of their teaching wherever it appears sound.*

The vast number of authorities, printed and in manuscript, on which a History of England should be based, if it is to represent the existing state of knowledge, renders co-operation almost necessary and certainly advisable. The History, of which this volume is an instalment, is an attempt to set forth in a readable form the results at present attained by research. It will consist of twelve volumes by twelve different writers, each

of them chosen as being specially capable of dealing with the period which he undertakes, and the editors, while leaving to each author as free a hand as possible, hope to insure a general similarity in method of treatment, so that the twelve volumes may in their contents, as well as in their outward appearance, form one History.

As its title imports, this History will primarily deal with politics, with the History of England and, after the date of the union with Scotland, Great Britain, as a state or body politic; but as the life of a nation is complex, and its condition at any given time cannot be understood without taking into account the various forces acting upon it, notices of religious matters and of intellectual, social, and economic progress will also find place in these volumes. The footnotes will, so far as is possible, be confined to references to authorities, and references will not be appended to statements which appear to be matters of common knowledge and do not call for support. Each volume will have an Appendix giving some account of the chief authorities, original and secondary, which the author has used. This account will be compiled with a view of helping students rather than of making long lists of books without any notes as to their contents or value. That the History will have faults both of its own and such as will always in some measure attend co-operative work, must be expected, but no pains have been spared to make it, so far as may be, not wholly unworthy of the greatness of its subject.

Each volume, while forming part of a complete History, will also in itself be a separate and complete book, will be sold separately, and will have its own index, and two or more maps.

The Political History of England

IN TWELVE VOLUMES

EDITED BY WILLIAM HUNT
REGINALD L. POOLE

XII.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND

DURING THE REIGN OF VICTORIA

(1837-1901)

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND

DURING THE REIGN OF VICTORIA

(1837-1901)

ST. JOSEPH'S UNIVERSITY STX
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LLOYD C. SANDERS

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[In chapters XVIII. and XIX. the events of the last years of Queen Victoria's reign—separated by a comparatively brief interval from the period in which this volume has been written—are presented in a more summary form than those dealt with in the preceding chapters.]

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MAPS.

(At the End of the Volume.)

1. Great Britain, showing Parliamentary Representation, 1867-1885.
2. Great Britain, showing Parliamentary Representation after 1885.
3. The World, showing British Possessions in 1837 and 1901.

CHAPTER I.

THE BEGINNING OF THE NEW REIGN.

WITH the death of King William IV., and the accession to the throne of his niece, the Princess Victoria, we are at the threshold of a fresh stage in the history of England and the British Empire. New ideas were in the air; new men were soon to come to the front; new forces, dimly felt or much misunderstood, were working through the political and social structure; and there was a significant appropriateness, however little it was understood at the moment, in the establishment of a new personal influence, very different from those which had been long dominant, at the ceremonial centre of English constitutional life. From the old king, whose reign, with that of his brother and father, covered nearly a hundred years, the sceptre passed to a young girl, who was not born till after the close of the great war bequeathed by the eighteenth century to its successor. But there was no break of continuity nor any appearance of sudden change: nor would it be correct to give the impression that the "Victorian era" at its beginning at any rate, was marked off sharply from that by which it was immediately preceded. Rather was it the rapid ingathering of a slowly ripening harvest, the fuller development of tendencies which had been long maturing. The consequences springing from the expansion of British colonisation and commerce in the eighteenth century, and the industrial revolution, which had extended over the earlier part of the nineteenth, were at length made manifest in this epoch of domestic stability and many-sided activity. Material prosperity, held in suspense during the war with France and the economic disorganisation that followed the peace, struck its roots deep and threw its branches wide; and the reign witnessed a vast increase of

CHAP. I.

national wealth, an unprecedented growth of manufacturing and mercantile industry, and a notable improvement in the condition of the masses. Great as the advance in mechanical knowledge had been during the previous half-century, it was outstripped by the broader scientific progress and the more efficient mastery of the powers of Nature attained in the sixty years that followed. Science, in its multifarious applications, assumed control of practical affairs, and its conceptions insensibly dominated the intellectual sphere as well.

The political history of the age does not always correspond to these wider movements, and often it is curiously out of touch with them. Yet here also the results of a tardy evolution seem to be precipitated in a tangible form; though much more through the dynamic effect of events and the pressure of circumstances than because of the conscious action of individuals. The foreign policy of the country during this period, often hesitating and confused, and seldom revealing any clear grasp of principle on the part of English statesmen, gradually worked itself out towards the definite aim of disentangling Great Britain from her close relationship with the continental states-system. By the close of the nineteenth century she has grown accustomed to regard herself as to a large extent an extra-European power, the head of a confederacy which has its constituent states and dependent territories in the other continents, and is more interested in the politics of Asia, Africa, and the Pacific, than in those of Europe.

In domestic politics, we have likewise to note the conclusion of processes, long preparing but now at last achieved. We witness the triumph of the *laissez-faire* system, as applied to trade and legislation. Most of the remaining vestiges of medievalism and feudalism are swept away, class privileges almost cease to be recognised by law, religious and other disqualifications are abolished, and electoral rights are conferred upon the great body of the adult male population. The change from status to contract in the relations of individuals to one another and the state is nearly completed; and the United Kingdom becomes a democracy, if that term is to be interpreted in the sense that political equality prevails notwithstanding the widest social and economic differences, and that the balance of power is shifted to the classes which form the largest element of

the community. The constitutional movement is not less important and it is even more definite. For the first time the English theory of the limited monarchy is translated into fact. Constitutional sovereignty, openly or covertly rejected by Queen Victoria's predecessors, is at last frankly accepted, and the cabinet system of government is able to operate without obstruction or impediment. Most of these results had been attained before the closing years of the reign. When it ended, with the new century opening upon the world, some of them had already been modified, and against others a distinct reaction was perceptible.

William IV. left no legitimate issue. The crown, therefore, devolved upon the daughter of his younger brother, Edward Augustus, Duke of Kent, fourth son of George III. The duke, like two of his brothers, the late king and the Duke of Cambridge, had married late in life, after the death of the prince regent's daughter, the Princess Charlotte. In May, 1818, the marriage took place, the bride being the Princess Victoria of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, widow of Prince Ernest Charles of Leiningen. The only child of this union was the Princess Alexandrina Victoria, born in Kensington Palace, on May 24, 1819. The Duke of Kent died the following year; the young princess was carefully educated by her mother; who was much aided by the prudent counsels of her brother, Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, afterwards King of the Belgians. The household of the duchess was simple and frugal. During her early years the princess was not allowed to know of the high destinies that awaited her. Sir Walter Scott, after dining with the Duchess of Kent, in May, 1828, and being presented to the princess, notes in his diary that "this little lady is educating with much care, and watched so closely that no busy maid has a moment to whisper, 'You are heir of England'". The revelation was made to her when she was twelve years old,[1] and it left on her mind a strong impression of responsibility and seriousness. The young princess deliberately equipped herself for her vocation, and at eighteen the death of her uncle left her prepared to discharge it with firmness and a high sense of public duty.

[1] Sir Theodore Martin, *The Life of the Prince Consort*, i., 13.

CHAP. I.

The old king died at Windsor early in the morning of Tuesday, June 20, 1837. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Howley, and the Lord Chamberlain, Lord Conyngham, at once rode to Kensington Palace with the news. They were received by the young queen, roused hastily from sleep, with her feet in slippers and her hair down her back. Some hours later the first council of the new reign was held at the palace. The queen on this occasion, and throughout the proceedings connected with her accession, bore herself with much dignity and natural simplicity. The Duke of Wellington said that "if she had been his own daughter he could not have desired to see her perform her part better".[1] The nation was inclined to be favourably impressed, though there was no very pronounced sentiment of loyalty at the moment. The public at large found its enthusiasm somewhat damped by the remembrance of the self-indulgent egotism of George IV., the undignified mediocrity of William IV., and the scandals associated with the name of one of the queen's uncles, Ernest Augustus, the Duke of Cumberland. The whigs being in office and counting on a royal support, which had been given them very grudgingly by the late king, made more parade of loyalty than their opponents, some of whom associated the throne very closely with their attack upon the government. There was vague talk of a tory and orange plot to dethrone the queen in favour of Duke Ernest. Public feeling gradually veered round in favour of the young sovereign. At the coronation, which did not take place till June 28, 1838, there was a great display of popular enthusiasm. Loyalty, too, became a fashion in London society, and the "high-class mob"[2] in Hyde Park gave the queen a cordial reception after an unsuccessful attempt on her life by a youth named Edward Oxford, on June 10, 1840.

The accession of Victoria brought to a close the personal connexion between the throne of the United Kingdom and that of Hanover. The Hanoverian crown did not devolve upon females. It passed, therefore, to the eldest male descendant of George III., the Duke of Cumberland. Thus, when nearly thirty years later the Hanoverian territory was absorbed by

[1] *Croker Papers*, ii., 359; *Greville Memoirs*, chap. xxxii.; Lord Albemarle, *Fifty Years of My Life*, p. 378.

[2] *Greville Memoirs*, June 12, and August 13, 1840.

Prussia, Great Britain was not concerned in the transaction, which only affected a collateral branch of the English reigning family.

At the death of the late king the whig ministry had been in office for a little more than two years. Lord Melbourne was its chief; its other principal members were Lord John Russell, home secretary; Lord Lansdowne, president of the council; and Lord Palmerston, foreign secretary. The ministers, who had to contend with a hostile majority in the house of lords and a formidable opposition in the lower house, led by Sir Robert Peel, had been badly supported by the king, who would willingly have seen them out of power. With the accession of Victoria their situation improved. The young queen was inexperienced and unversed in affairs. Melbourne undertook the duty of forming her mind and instructing her in public business. He carried out the task with admirable tact, discretion, and fidelity. The polished statesman and courtier of fifty-eight obtained a great influence over his royal pupil of eighteen, an influence which was never abused. In spite of his indolence and superficiality, Melbourne proved an excellent mentor. He had a good understanding of the nature of the English constitution, in its existing state of development, and was careful to insist upon those doctrines of parliamentary sovereignty, ministerial responsibility, and limited monarchy, which belonged to the whig tradition.

To clear the way for a dissolution of parliament, the session of 1837 was rapidly wound up. Among the non-contentious bills passed was that for the reform of the criminal law, by which capital punishment was abolished, except for high treason, and for murder, rape, piracy, arson, and robbery attended by murderous violence. This was a fitting complement to the great series of reforming measures enacted in the previous reign. Parliament was prorogued on July 17 by the queen in person, her majesty's demeanour on this occasion adding to the favourable impression she had already created. The general election was over by August 19. The ministerialists fought the campaign on the strength of their record as reformers, and made much of the assumed disaffection of the opposition towards the throne, many of them indeed ostentatiously proclaiming that the young queen was on their side and exhorting the electors to

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show their loyalty by returning the supporters of the political connexion she favoured. The tories insisted on the danger to social order and the constitution from the subversive projects of the radical wing of the whig party.[1] Some of the opposition leaders described their own attitude as conservative, a word which was rapidly becoming current in political controversy.[2] Peel employed it in his address to the electors of Tamworth, and Russell, at an election dinner at Stroud, described it as "a mere change of name, a mere alias to persons who do not like to be known under their former designation". The appellation, however, established itself, and largely, though never entirely, superseded that of tory, while the whigs completely abandoned their old party name for that of liberals.

These changes in nomenclature were not merely formal. Peel, when he called himself conservative, and promised, in one of his Tamworth speeches, to save the country from being "trampled under the hoof of a ruthless democracy," and his colleague, Sir James Graham, when he wrote gloomily to the literary champion of the tories that the country was "trembling on the brink of revolution," [3] were no doubt only expressing the opinions of numerous middle-class and propertied people who were really alarmed at the growth of radical sentiment. Many of the moderate liberals, including some of the whig leaders, shared this anxiety, which reflected itself in the result of the elections. The government, though it staved off defeat, was somewhat weakened, especially in the boroughs, where it lost thirteen seats. Benjamin Disraeli began his long parliamentary career as member for Maidstone; and William Ewart Gladstone was returned for the third time for Newark, the constituency he had represented since 1832. Several prominent radicals were defeated, including John Arthur Roebuck, who

[1] The popular idea on the subject was expressed in some lines current during the election :—

"'The queen is with us,' whigs insulting say,
'For when *she found us in*, she let us stay;'
It may be so; but give me leave to doubt
How long she'll keep you, when *she finds you out*."

[2] It had been used by Canning, at a city dinner, as far back as 1824, and was not, as is often said, first applied to the tories by Croker in the *Quarterly Review* in January, 1830. Macaulay in July, 1832, in his review of Dumont's *Mirabeau*, referred to it as a new cant word.

[3] *Croker Papers*, ii., 356, 388.

was replaced by a tory at Bath; but George Grote, the radical banker and historian, was elected for the city of London.[1] The ministerial majority was estimated at about eight and thirty, though this included several members whose fidelity was doubtful. The new parliament met for a brief preliminary session on November 20. A radical amendment to the address, in favour of extending the representation of the people, was defeated by 509 votes to 20. The principal business transacted was the settlement of the civil list. The queen, like her two immediate predecessors, placed the hereditary revenues at the disposal of the nation, and requested parliament to make adequate provision for the maintenance of the dignity of the crown. After inquiry by a select committee the civil list was fixed at £385,000 per annum. A reduction of the amount by £50,000, moved by Joseph Hume, an active radical advocate of public economy, was supported by only nineteen votes.[2] Lord Brougham, who now seldom lost an occasion of embarrassing his former colleagues, found an opportunity, in the debates on the civil list bill in the house of lords, to deliver an impassioned appeal in favour of the reduction of national expenditure.

The legislature, however, had soon more exciting subjects to discuss. After a brief recess it reassembled on January 16, 1838, and found its attention fully occupied with the affairs of Canada and the affairs of Ireland. The former topic claimed first place, for the colony was already in a condition of open revolt. The provinces of Upper and Lower Canada had long been discontented and disturbed. In 1791 both had received constitutions under which there was an assembly elected by the people, a legislative council nominated by the governor, and an executive council, responsible to the crown but not always consulted by it. Upper Canada, which was inhabited by colonists of British descent, desired administrative and constitutional reform. Its vigorous and progressive settlers were anxious to develop the abundant resources of the country, to secure good government and sound finance, and to deliver themselves from the burden of an official oligarchy maintained

[1] Macaulay, who as an official whig distrusted the advanced section, told Greville in July, 1838, that the radicals were reduced to "Grote and his wife" (*Greville Memoirs*, July 14, 1838).

[2] *Parliamentary Debates*, xxxix., 1160-81.

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in power by the system of nomination. They were loyal to the connexion with Great Britain, but they were irritated at the mismanagement of their affairs by a government dominated by nepotism, ignorance, and bureaucratic incompetence. Lower Canada also required better administration and an independent executive. But in this province the question was largely one of race and nationality. The French *habitants* keenly resented the activity and disliked the innovating tendencies of the settlers of Anglo-Saxon origin who were crowding into the country. The numerical superiority of the French enabled them to control the elective chamber; but the legislative council was filled with British nominees. A struggle had been in progress for several years between the two elements in Lower Canada. The French politicians of the assembly were at variance with the government, which in this province was supported not only by the legislative council, but also by the English-speaking minority of the population; for some of the French agitators, including Papineau their leader and the speaker of the assembly, aimed at separation from Great Britain; and that was an object with which the English settlers had no sympathy. Many of them, however, were strongly in favour of constitutional reform and the limitation of the power of the placemen and government nominees.

At the accession of the queen, a deadlock in Lower Canada had existed for several years. Since October, 1832, the house of assembly had refused to vote full supplies for the administration of justice and the civil list. Lord Gosford, the governor, who had been sent out at the head of a commission of inquiry in 1835, advised that the assembly should be deprived of its control over the revenue. The imperial government attempted conciliation in a half-hearted fashion, and Lord Glenelg, the colonial secretary, published a despatch hinting at reforms. The Canadian assembly replied with a defiant address insisting on a true representative constitution. In consequence, in March and April, 1837, Lord John Russell had induced the house of commons to carry resolutions placing the collection of the colonial revenue in the hands of the governor. The assembly replied with a threat of force, and on August 27 it was dissolved. These proceedings were followed by open violence, riots in various places, and finally

by warlike operations on a small scale. The rebellion was not formidable. The troops in Lower Canada, supplemented by those from the upper province, sent down by Sir Francis Head, the governor, obtained an easy series of successes over their opponents in Quebec and on the lower St. Lawrence. In Ontario the insurrection was equally ineffective, and was suppressed without difficulty. The loyal colonial militia, upon whom Head relied, defeated the rebels, and thwarted an attempt to seize Toronto. The operations lasted only a few weeks, and before the end of the autumn of 1837 Papineau and several of his associates had sought refuge in the United States.

When parliament met in January, 1838, ministers, through the mouth of Russell, announced that they proposed to suspend the constitution of Lower Canada for three years and to send out the Earl of Durham as high commissioner, with quasi-dictatorial powers over both the provinces. He was to be empowered to issue ordinances, with the advice of his executive council, and these were to have the force of laws. The policy, though resisted by a few of the radicals, received the general approval of the house of commons; but the bill to give effect to it, which Russell introduced, was much modified by Peel before it was sent to the lords and passed by them. Durham was a man with some administrative and diplomatic experience. His opinions were strongly liberal, and even radical, and he was regarded as the leader of the advanced section of the whigs. Great ability he undoubtedly possessed; but he had little tact, and a violent and uncertain temper. Thus his brief career in Canada, in spite of his comprehensive and statesmanlike grasp of the general principles of colonial government as expressed later in his famous report, was a failure. Within a few weeks of his arrival at Quebec in May, 1838, he created an administrative despotism, of which the instruments were his own personal staff. He issued ordinances proclaiming a general amnesty; but exceptions were made in the case of Papineau and the other chief leaders, who were to suffer death if they returned to Canada. Eight other rebels were ordered to be deported to Bermuda, though the governor of that colony pointed out that he had no legal power either to receive or to detain them.

This autocratic method of sentencing men to death or

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banishment, without process of law, speedily raised a storm in England. Fiercely attacked by Brougham in the lords, and by Sugden and others in the commons, the ministry gave way and on August 10 consented to disallow the transportation ordinance. Durham denounced the conduct of the cabinet in a violent and indiscreet proclamation[1] and then anticipated his dismissal by resigning. He left Quebec on November 1, hardly more than five months after his arrival. He had done little good in Canada and some harm; but he had been long enough in the country to obtain, with the assistance of his accomplished secretary, Charles Buller, the materials for the report, which was printed in February, 1839.[2] This report is one of the ablest state-papers ever penned, written with dignity and eloquence, and containing many passages of sound political wisdom and penetrating insight. If Durham's active career was abortive and disappointing, he left behind him a noble literary legacy for the instruction of future generations.

With Durham's departure the insurrection broke out afresh, and became somewhat more threatening, since it was complicated by a guerilla invasion from the United States, where the rebels had many sympathisers. A dispute with the Washington government was averted with some difficulty. Sir John Colborne, the commander-in-chief, who was acting-governor on Durham's retirement, behaved with vigour; martial law was proclaimed, and the rebellion was finally stamped out before the winter of 1838. Next year the home ministry decided to adopt a remedial policy, carrying out some of the recommendations of the Durham report. It was determined to effect a union of the two Canadas, which were to be provided with a joint legislature and a responsible ministry. The proposal was mentioned in the queen's speech at the opening of the session, and laid before the commons in the form of resolutions on June 3. But some of the details of the scheme were unfavourably received by the house of assembly in Upper Canada, as well as by the people of Quebec, and the proposal was allowed to stand over till further information could be obtained as to the feeling in the colonies. In October, Poulett Thomson,

[1] *Annual Register*, 1838, p. 311.

[2] The suggestion that Buller was the actual author of the report is decisively disposed of by Stuart Reid, *Life of Durham*, ii., 339 *seq.*

created Lord Sydenham, the president of the board of trade, superseded the military governor, Colborne, whose useful work had ended with the complete pacification of the two colonies. Sydenham acted with tact and ability, and helped to bring about a salutary change in Canadian opinion.[1] The proposals for union became more popular in Canada the more they were examined. In July, 1840, the government introduced another Canada bill, which met with general acquiescence both at home and in North America. It united the two provinces, and granted the assembly complete authority over the colonial finances. There was a legislative council of twenty, nominated by the crown, with a representative assembly, and in practice though not by the terms of the act, the responsibility of ministers was secured. The Canadians obtained the essentials of internal self-government, and their discontent died away, as Durham had predicted. The constitution which they had obtained formed the general model for those granted to various other British colonies during the next few years.

The other subject which claimed the urgent attention of the first parliament of Queen Victoria was that of Irish legislation. Throughout the queen's reign Ireland was fated to be the disturbing element in English domestic politics. The poverty and discontent of the smaller island formed a marked and painful contrast to the increasing prosperity of its neighbour. The energy of English statesmanship was largely devoted to well-meant, but often ineffectual, attempts to remedy the evils which were the growth of centuries and the legacy of an unhappy past; while the majority of Englishmen, ill-acquainted with the history of Ireland and the character of its people, surveyed the process with perplexed irritation, and were divided between pity for Irish suffering and anger at Irish perversity. The aspiration of many Irishmen for the recognition of their national individuality was at no time between 1837 and 1901 able to gain the acquiescence of the general body of English electors. As a rule, however, it has been regarded somewhat differently by the two great parties, whose conflicts have been complicated and confused by the action of the Irish represen-

[1] See G. Poulett Scrope, *Memoir of Lord Sydenham with Narrative of His Administration in Canada*, 1843.

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tatives. There has been more tendency on the part of whig and liberal leaders to meet Irish agitation by concession and conciliation; while the conservatives, holding that the full separatist demand can never be granted, have usually directed their efforts to vindicating the supremacy of the law and maintaining the integrity of the United Kingdom. This was the case in 1838. O'Connell, the leader of the Irish Nationalists—to employ the name by which they were afterwards known—had supported the whigs, who in return had introduced several measures of social and political reform for Ireland.[1]

In the session of 1838 they began with a bill for the revision of the Irish poor law. The destitution was so great and widespread that public relief was indispensable. That relief, if Irish opinion had been consulted, would probably not have been associated with residence in the workhouse. The government, however, resolved to apply to Ireland the principles of the English poor law of 1834, though with somewhat greater rigidity. Poor law unions were to be established, but no outdoor relief was to be granted, though the workhouses were to be open to all destitute persons who were willing to enter them. The bill was opposed by O'Connell, and by other leading Irishmen, and was very unpopular in Ireland, where the workhouse was regarded with an aversion even deeper than the dislike felt towards it by the English peasantry. But there was little opposition to the bill in England, and it passed both houses early in the session. The tithe bill gave ministers more difficulty. Peel and the conservatives had no objection to convert the tithes into a rent-charge, and to throw the responsibility for payment upon the landlords. The tithe exceeded the rent-charge, and the whigs, supported by the Irish members, contended that this surplus should not be allocated entirely to the support of the Church in Ireland, but should be devoted to the provision of education for children of all denominations. It was on this clause that the bill of 1836 had been wrecked. Lord John Russell, under pressure from the conservatives and some of his own whig friends, now decided to abandon the appropriation clause. The bill, introduced in May, 1838, converted tithes

[1] See vol. xi., 364-66.

into a rent-charge of fixed amount and left the surplus for the benefit of the established Church. In this form it was got through the upper house and became law in August. The result was, however, regarded as a triumph for the opposition, and a somewhat humiliating surrender by the government. The Irish municipal corporations bill was passed in the commons, but the franchise qualification was raised from £5 to £10 in the lords, and the bill was dropped for the session. In this case, also, the view of the peers ultimately prevailed, and the Irish municipal act was not passed till 1840, when the government accepted the franchise qualification as modified in the upper house. CHAP. I.

The Irish policy of the Melbourne cabinet too closely resembled that of some of its predecessors and some of its successors. Ineffectual concession was associated with half-hearted coercion. The whig reforms, planned by well-meaning men unacquainted with the true state of the country, who were determined to apply political remedies to disorders mainly social and economic, could not remove the deep-seated disaffection. Lord Normanby, the lord-lieutenant, Lord Morpeth, the chief secretary, and Thomas Drummond, the permanent under-secretary, were extremely anxious to govern by the ordinary law, to administer that law with lenity, and to gain the sympathies of the Roman catholic population. They were supported by O'Connell and the political repealers, and bitterly attacked by the protestants and by the landlords. The latter regarded the administration as being in league with their tenants to rob them of their property, and a remark by Drummond, which became historical, that "property has its duties as well as its rights," roused a storm. The enemies of the Irish government could point to the patent fact that its concessions had not had the intended effect of restoring social order. Crime was rife, and was fomented by secret associations, which adopted practices traditional among a large part of the Irish peasantry. Tortured by poverty, and filled with a bitter sense of the injustice of the agrarian system under which they lived, the peasantry of the disturbed districts cared little for the repeal agitation, and neither appreciated nor understood the ministerial attempts at reform. The anti-rent conspiracy was no figment of the landlords' imagination. It spread widely

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and was emphasised by some terrible agrarian murders, which the law was unable to punish. The police were baffled by the popular sympathy with the offenders, and juries refused to convict. There was a steady increase in the number of evictions, of outrages, and of committals. So it was stated in parliament in the early part of the session of 1839, when the Irish policy of the government was exposed to a violent series of attacks in both houses.

In the lords the motion for a select committee to inquire into the state of Ireland, was carried against the government. Ministers responded by challenging a vote of confidence in the lower house. In April, Lord John Russell's resolution, approving the general principles of the government's Irish policy, was met with an evasive amendment by Sir Robert Peel, and after a somewhat languid debate was carried by a majority of twenty-two. Defeated in one house, and saved by a narrow margin in the other, the ministry was not in a situation to offer an effective resistance to a vigorous and united opposition led by the ablest public man of the day. Peel's authority in the commons was greater than that of any member of the cabinet. Nor had the government any firm hold on public opinion outside. Many of the middle-class electors enfranchised by the reform act were veering over to the conservatives, in whom they saw a defence against vaguely apprehended dangers from an excited, though still unprivileged, "democracy". The workmen of the towns and the rural labourers, still excluded from political power, gave no support to either of the official parties. If they disliked the conservatives, they distrusted the whigs. Seething with discontent, and wild with suffering and poverty, they listened eagerly to radical agitators, and clamoured for political changes which to whigs and tories alike seemed dangerously socialistic and revolutionary. In the two chambers of parliament the ministerialists were badly outmatched, not only by the commanding figure of Peel, but by the brilliant Stanley, the resolute, resourceful Lyndhurst, the accomplished Aberdeen, and by men like Graham, Goulburn, and Gladstone, who had a reputation as economists and financiers. Melbourne was not taken quite seriously, and Russell was regarded at that period as wanting in character and weight; while Palmerston, usefully absorbed in the duties of the foreign office, which he

was discharging with more ability than was generally recognised, had not yet impressed his personality upon the public mind. The government had lost prestige by its conduct both of Irish and Canadian affairs.

It was still further to be discredited by its difficulties with the colony of Jamaica. The act for the emancipation of the West Indian negro slaves in 1833 had temporarily failed of its object. This act allowed complete emancipation to be postponed and substituted a temporary system of "apprenticeship," which worked very badly. Some of the planters, enraged and disaffected, used the power which they possessed over the administration of the colonies to treat their slave-apprentices with gross cruelty. When the negro was the property of the master the latter had, at least, an interest in keeping his human chattel alive. Under the apprenticeship system even this incentive to humanity disappeared, and in some cases coloured labourers were worked or starved to death in the fields, or brutally flogged in the house of correction. The abominations of the Jamaica prisons were made known in England, and the old anti-slavery sentiment revived. Parliament and London society were much inclined to ignore the whole subject, and some influential voices were raised to denounce the exaggerated accusations levelled by Brougham and others against the planters as a body.[1] But the chord which Wilberforce had set vibrating in the hearts of the English people was struck again; and in the autumn of 1837 and the spring of 1838 a great agitation was in full movement. Crowded meetings were held throughout the midlands and the north; petitions with a million names to them poured in upon the house of commons;[2] and the astonished politicians of Westminster were confronted by something like a national demand for the immediate emancipation of all the apprentices. A resolution to this effect was carried in a thin house on May 22, 1838.

The government introduced an "act of amendment" virtually abolishing the apprenticeship. It was unwillingly accepted by the Jamaica assembly, and after an emphatic protest in June, which declared that the abandonment of the remaining term of apprenticeship and the complete emancipation of the

[1] Morley, *Life of Gladstone*, i., 146. [2] *Parl. Debates*, xliii., 409.

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coloured population had been forced upon the colonists "by the parliament of the United Kingdom" against their own wishes and interests.[1] Social disorganisation and terrorism followed, and the management of the prisons became worse than ever. The imperial government thereupon induced parliament to pass an act which placed the administration of the prisons in the hands of the governor. The assembly regarded this measure, probably with justice, as an infringement of its constitutional rights and assumed a rebellious attitude. It declined to exercise any of its legislative functions or even to renew expiring laws. It was dissolved by the governor; but the new assembly displayed an equally impracticable temper. The home government, thus forced into action, decided on strong measures. Henry Labouchere, the under-secretary for the colonies, introduced a bill on April 9, 1839, to suspend the constitution of Jamaica for five years, leaving the administration of the island in the hands of the governor and a legislative commission. Justifiable as this step may have been, it was badly received; for in spite of the agitation on behalf of the negroes, there was much feeling for the planters, who seemed to have been treated with undue haste and some harshness. The conservatives exclaimed against the infraction of constitutional precedent. The Irish and some of the radicals, disliking this high-handed method of dealing with a self-governing community, went with them. The Jamaica bill was carried on May 6 by a government majority which fell down to five in a house of 583. The ministers felt that they could not carry on the government while thus weakly supported in one house and not supported at all in the other; and on the 7th, Melbourne in the lords, and Russell in the commons, announced the resignation of the ministry.

But here occurred one of those episodes that give so strange an air of frivolity to English politics, in which it constantly happens that the gravest issues are crossed by some trivial personal question. Melbourne, on resigning office, advised the queen to send for the Duke of Wellington, who recommended that Peel should be commissioned to form a cabinet. On the 8th, Sir Robert submitted to the queen his list of appointments,

[1] *Annual Register*, 1838, p. 347.

which included the Duke of Wellington, Lords Lyndhurst, Aberdeen, Ellenborough, Stanley, Sir James Graham, and Goulburn. He explained to her that he should also expect some changes to be made among the ladies who held high office in the royal household. The ladies specially aimed at were the sister of Lord Morpeth and the wife of Lord Normanby, the latter of whom Peel described as "his most formidable enemy".[1] The queen declined to consent to a course which she described as "contrary to usage and repugnant to her feelings". She was fortified in this opinion by a minute from the members of the retiring Melbourne cabinet, who were requested by the queen to advise her. Peel, however, was firm. He declined to form a ministry unless the whig ladies were removed; the queen would not give way on the point; and Melbourne was recalled, declaring that he resumed office "unequivocally and solely for this reason that I will not abandon my sovereign in a situation of difficulty and distress, especially when a demand is made upon her majesty with which I think she ought not to comply".

Such was the famous bedchamber question, and it made a prodigious stir at the time. Peel was no doubt justified in declining to carry on the government while the wives and sisters of his political opponents were in close contact with a young and inexperienced queen. But the importance of the affair was greatly exaggerated. The ladies of the royal household possessed very little political influence then, and none at all later. At the moment, however, this was not understood. The traditions of the Georgian monarchy were recent, and the court was still a great factor in politics. Both parties made use of it rather unscrupulously. The tories declared that the whig noblemen were determined to surround the queen with their creatures and make her a mere puppet; while some of the liberals, and their Irish allies, affected to see in Peel's demand a fresh illustration of the great tory plot against the throne and constitution. O'Connell and Henry Grattan at meetings in Ireland used some extravagant language. The "Liberator" called on the great God of heaven to bless the queen, "that creature of only nineteen, lovely as she is young, and pure as she is

[1] *Parl. Debates*, xlvii., 989.

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exalted," and declared that he could get in one day "five hundred thousand brave Irishmen to defend the life, the honour, and the person of the beloved young lady by whom England's throne is now filled".[1] Grattan went so far as to say, and apparently not in jest: "If her majesty were once fairly placed in the hands of the tories I would not give an orange-peel for her life. If some of the low miscreants of the party got round her majesty, and had the mixing of the royal bowl at night, I fear she would have a long sleep." The tories could at least urge in justification of their attitude, that the appointments in the royal household at the beginning of the reign, made at Melbourne's suggestion and against the advice of King Leopold of Belgium, were of a distinctly partisan character throughout.[2] Moreover these ladies, or some of them, had permitted the court to be discredited by a grave scandal early in 1839, when Lady Flora Hastings, a lady-in-waiting to the Duchess of Kent, was made the victim of a disgraceful and unfounded charge, which excited loud public indignation, especially in the conservative press. "The tories do all in their power to make themselves odious to me," the queen is said to have remarked.[3]

The crisis over the household appointments was partly caused by the queen herself, in a very excusable fit of youthful petulance and self-will. She now provided herself with a permanent counsellor, more intimate and trustworthy than Melbourne, by her marriage with her first cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, second son of Duke Ernest of Saxe-Coburg, the brother of the Duchess of Kent. The prince was three months younger than the queen, having been born on August 26, 1819. The alliance was one of affection more than policy, for the queen fell deeply in love with the handsome and accomplished young prince. The engagement was arranged in the autumn of 1839, and the marriage took place on February 10, 1840, in St. James's Palace. The union proved extremely beneficial to the queen, who found in her husband the most unselfish and industrious of confidential assistants. The prince consort was a man with high ideals and many

[1] *Annual Register*, 1839, p. 314. [2] Lee, *Queen Victoria*, p. 63.
[3] *Peel Papers*, edited by C. S. Parker, ii., 405.

intellectual interests. He did much to promote science, learning, philanthropy, and public decorum. At first, however, the marriage was not popular. The bridegroom was regarded as a somewhat insignificant German princeling, and his merits were undervalued; indeed, they were not completely recognised till after his death. His manners were stiff, reserved, a little pedantic, and he was never able to get upon cordial terms with the leaders of a pleasure-loving and sport-loving aristocracy. Nor was his serious and scholarly character altogether of the kind which makes for success with the English people, who like a touch of frivolity in those of high station.

The Melbourne government, retained in office against the wishes of its chief by the personal action of the queen in May, 1839, did not retire till two years afterwards. There were some cabinet changes. Russell exchanged the home office for the colonial office, remaining leader of the house of commons. Lord Normanby, who had been lord-lieutenant of Ireland, became home secretary, Francis Baring replaced Spring Rice as chancellor of the exchequer, and Macaulay had his first and only experience of high political office as secretary for war. The superiority of the opposition remained as marked as ever, and Peel had a larger share in forming the legislation of this period than its nominal authors. This was seen in the case of the re-drafted Jamaica bill, which did not suspend the colonial constitution, but gave the Jamaica assembly a respite, or *locus pœnitentiæ*, as it was called at the time. The governor in council was empowered by the first clause to make necessary ordinances. The clause, carried by a majority of only ten votes in the house of commons, was expunged by the lords, and the government agreed to pass the bill thus mutilated.

Another ministerial project met with equally rough treatment. This was the scheme for assisting national education. Since 1833 the sum of £20,000 had been granted annually to the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society to enable them to build and maintain school-houses. Early in the session of 1839 Lord John Russell brought forward a scheme for creating a committee of the privy council to supervise the distribution of the grant, which was to be increased to £30,000, "a small fraction of the revenue of one day," as

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Carlyle called it. The order in council to give effect to the scheme was hotly attacked. The conservative churchmen, led by Stanley, opposed it on the ground that it gave over the control of education to a political body, which might bestow public money not only on dissenters, but on Roman catholics and even infidels. The incubus of religious controversy thenceforward, and to the end of the queen's reign and beyond it, beset the paths of English elementary education. The ministry barely held their own. In the debates of June, 1839, on the order in council, the government majority sank to five, and even to two; while a resolution of the Archbishop of Canterbury in the lords, denouncing the scheme, was carried by 229 votes to 118. The committee of the council for education was, however, constituted; but inspectors appointed to supervise the administration of the grant were to be selected with the approval of the bishops, and instructed to report to them as well as to the council.

One reform of undoubted public utility and of immense and far-reaching importance, the Melbourne cabinet did succeed in accomplishing during the session of 1839. This was the institution of the penny postage. Rowland Hill had published his pamphlet on *Post Office Reform*, recommending the adoption of a uniform postage and an adhesive stamp, and had submitted it to Lord Melbourne in 1837. The government now adopted Hill's scheme in its entirety. In the budget of 1839 provision was made for a uniform rate of postage which was to be reduced to a penny on January 10, 1840. The reform, forced on a reluctant ministry and an indifferent parliament by an insistent public opinion, deserves to be numbered among the great events of modern history. It was imitated in due course by all other nations; and it was one main factor in bringing about that stupendous growth of internal and international communication which renders the remainder of the nineteenth century remarkable and unique.

The foreign policy of the whig cabinet was more vigorous and assertive than its conduct of domestic affairs. It remained in the hands of Palmerston, who acted often without the concurrence, and sometimes without the cognisance, of his colleagues. He maintained the principle, common alike to the whigs and to those tories who followed Canning, of en-

couraging what was conceived to be the liberal and constitutional cause in continental Europe and of opposing the autocratic despotisms. The government had committed itself to the support of Isabella of Spain in the contest with the Carlists, under the impression that the young queen was the representative of constitutionalism. A squadron, under Lord John Hay, was ordered to the coast of the peninsula with instructions to lend moral, and a certain material, aid to the queen's party. But it was no more effective than the unlucky British legion, under De Lacy Evans, which had been assisting Isabella, with little success or glory, under orders in council issued in 1835. The force was dissolved in 1838, and the order in council sanctioning its employment withdrawn. The active intervention of Great Britain in Spanish politics ceased, but not before it had damaged the relations between the governments of Great Britain and that of France.

The two countries were brought into more perilous contact over eastern affairs. Fearing the rapid advance of Russia after the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi in July, 1833,[1] Palmerston endeavoured to induce Louis Philippe's ministers to join with him in maintaining the Ottoman empire against aggression and disruption. The Turkish power was menaced from within and without. Mehemet Ali, the able and ambitious Viceroy of Egypt, had made himself virtually independent, and with a well-disciplined body of troops at his command he was attempting to drive his suzerain from Syria, and even menacing Constantinople. Palmerston resolved on European intervention, in order to avert the disaster of leaving the Porte entirely dependent on Russia. He brought about concerted action by England, France, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, and on July 27, 1839, identical demands were made on the Porte by the ambassadors of the five powers and the Pasha of Egypt. Meanwhile the British and French admirals in the Mediterranean were instructed to use force, if necessary, either to drive Mehemet Ali from Syria, or to pass the Dardanelles if a Russian army should enter Turkish territory. The understanding, however, did not last long. Hostilities actually broke out between the Egyptian and Turkish forces, and the sultan's

[1] See vol. xi., 394.

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fleet joined the rebels. Strong action was necessary, but France was not whole-hearted in the desire to coerce Mehemet, and would have preferred to leave him sovereign in Syria and Egypt.[1] The negotiations dragged on; and in July, 1840, Palmerston was able to conclude a convention with Austria and Russia, though not with France, authorising armed intervention in Asia Minor. Palmerston then acted vigorously. A British, Austrian, and Turkish squadron under Admiral Stopford bombarded Beyrût on September 7, 1840, and landed a body of troops, which inflicted a severe defeat on Ibrahim Pasha, Mehemet's general. The force also captured Acre on November 3, with a loss of only sixty-six killed and wounded, though Marshal Soult the year before had declared that there was no power in Europe capable of taking the town. France, angry and mortified, yet recognised, as Guizot said, *les faits accomplis*. The treaty of London in 1841 confined Mehemet Ali to Egypt, and compelled the Porte to close both the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus to ships of war.

The advance of Russia was felt in another region. Russian agents had been busy in Afghanistan for some years, and a Persian army, assumed to be acting in co-operation with Russia, was threatening Herát. Dost Muhammad, the Afghan amír, was believed by Lord Auckland, the governor-general of India, and his advisers, to be under their influence. It was determined, therefore, to depose him and place Sháh Shujá, the head of a rival dynasty, on the throne of Kábul. On October 1, 1838, Lord Auckland issued a proclamation in support of Sháh Shujá, and a British army crossed the Indus. The amír was driven from Kábul, and his rival installed on the throne under the protection of a British Indian force of 8,000 men. Dost Muhammad surrendered to the British envoy, Sir William Macnaghten, in November, 1840, and was sent to India, and it was assumed that resistance was at an end, and that the Afghans had quietly submitted to the new *régime*. There was soon to be a tragic awakening.

Important as these external transactions were, they attracted comparatively little attention. England, indeed in these closing years of the whig administration, had many

[1] *Parliamentary Papers*, 1841, vol. xxix.; Guizot, *Mémoires*, vol. iv.

domestic preoccupations. The country was in a disturbed and somewhat disorganised condition, still tossing heavily in the trough of the depression, which intervened between the earlier industrial movement of the century and the swelling wave of material prosperity, which occupied its middle years. The supersession of manual labour by machinery, and the displacement of agriculture and rural industry by manufactures, had been making rapid progress. The result seemed temporarily disastrous. An economic revolution had come upon a community which had not as yet learnt to adapt itself to the new conditions. The labour-saving machinery enriched manufacturers but temporarily deprived many thousands of work-people of employment; the villagers poured into the towns, which were swollen hastily to an unwieldy bulk and were ill-regulated, overcrowded, and extremely unhealthy. The interests of the middle-class electorate, and the fashionable Benthamite philosophy of the time, alike deprecated interference with the iron law of competition, unsoftened either by state supervision or philanthropic effort; wages were kept down by the pressure of population; and prices were held up by the protective tariff. The English working-class has seldom been in a more deplorable condition than it was during the years that were really those of great industrial and material progress—the years during which the first railways were being laid, the ocean-going steamship developed, the electric telegraph installed, and the cheap postal system established. Before long this extension of communication and transport enlarged the area of employment, and diffused a wider comfort and greater material wealth among all classes. But the beneficial effect of the new mechanical science had yet to make itself felt. Over 1,100,000 persons in a population of some 15,000,000 were in receipt of public relief; and the new poor law, designed to confine pauperism to the workhouse, was angrily resented. There was much suffering, and much impatience with the prevailing social and political order. Agitation, often revolutionary and violent, was rife among the unenfranchised masses.

Chartism was the most formidable of these movements. Its rival was the organisation for the repeal of the corn laws, which owed its initiation to a section of the middle class. The aims of the chartists were avowedly political. The six points

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of the "People's Charter," manhood suffrage, vote by ballot, annual parliaments, the abolition of the property qualification, the payment of members, and equal electoral districts, were all intended to give the masses the control of legislation; for only by this means, it was argued, could their condition really be ameliorated. The movement had gone on for many years and had numbered highly respectable names among its supporters. By 1838 it was in rather a languishing condition, when the public distress and the feeling against the poor law gave it a new birth. Its leaders were then a knot of obscure men, journalists, artisans, and dissenting ministers. In the latter part of 1838 and the following year chartist meetings, some of immense proportions, were held all over England. In many cases there were riots and disturbances. A chartist convention was assembled in London, and a petition, with some millions of signatures, was presented to the house of commons in 1839. The house declined to receive it, and the chartists, in several localities, broke out into a kind of insurrection. At Birmingham there was furious rioting and much destruction of property. The disaffection was widespread and serious, and Disraeli, who was destined a few years later to embody many of the chartist ideas in the form of a literary romance,[1] declared that the country was on the verge of civil war. There was fighting at Newport on November 3, when several bodies of Welsh chartists, under John Frost, engaged in a concerted attempt to seize the town, and the outbreak was only quelled by the military after a fierce conflict involving considerable loss of life. Frost and two of his companions were tried for high treason, convicted, and punished by transportation for life. Chartism again died down, to acquire a new and temporary lease of life somewhat later.[2]

The ministers had met the chartist outbreaks with strong repressive measures, and here they had the concurrence of parliament, which had no sympathy with the movement. The house of commons indeed had little understanding of the processes that were maturing outside its walls. The industrial and the social evolution went on almost unnoticed by statesmen and politicians absorbed in the party controversy. The

[1] Disraeli's *Sybil* was published in 1845; Carlyle's *Chartism* in 1839.

[2] See *infra*, chap. iv.

condition of the people, however, could not be wholly kept apart from this contest. Bad trade and the decline in consumption told upon a revenue mainly derived from taxes on commodities. All Spring Rice's budgets showed a deficit. Baring in 1840-41 estimated that the deficiency would amount to nearly £2,750,000. By 1841 he began to despair of raising the whole of the necessary revenue by the regular expedient of increasing the duties on imports. The government decided to fall back on the alternative of attempting to increase consumption by diminishing taxation. It was a distinct concession to the free traders, whose propaganda, under Richard Cobden and John Bright, was gradually winning over the manufacturing classes; while the high price of wheat, which was quoted at eighty-six shillings a quarter in August, 1841, was converting many of the working-men. The whigs had never shown any particular regard for free trade; but Lord John Russell seems to have thought that the time had come, on political as well as financial grounds, to make some move in this direction. The chancellor of the exchequer proposed to reduce the high differential duties on timber and sugar. Foreign sugar had paid a tax of sixty-three shillings a hundredweight, as against twenty-four shillings on colonial sugar. Baring proposed to reduce the foreign duty to thirty-six shillings, leaving the colonial unchanged. In addition, Lord John Russell announced an intention to repeal the existing corn taxes and to substitute a fixed duty of eight shillings a quarter for the sliding scale. This at length brought about the collapse of a government which had already found itself in a minority of eleven on the Irish registration bill. After an eight nights' debate the government was defeated on May 7, 1841, on Lord Sandon's motion condemning the proposed reduction of the sugar duty, by 317 votes to 281, and the budget was destroyed.

The ministry was destroyed too, but English cabinets do not always know when they are beaten. Melbourne and his colleagues tried to cling to office a little longer, if only to influence the approaching general election. Instead of resigning, they decided to go on with their resolutions on the corn laws. Peel gave notice that he would propose a direct vote of want of confidence, which was debated with much heat and eloquence, on the 27th. The ministry was defeated by one

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vote—312 to 311. Parliament was dissolved in June, and the elections proved that the country was heartily tired of the whig ministry, a fact which had long been obvious to everybody but the whig ministers themselves. They lost seats not only in the county constituencies but even in London and Westminster, two of the liberal strongholds. The general result was to give the tories a majority of more than seventy. The new parliament met on August 24, and Peel at once brought forward a vote of censure which was carried, on the 28th, by a majority of ninety-one. Melbourne at length thought it necessary to tender his resignation, and so brought to an end the whig rule which had lasted, with a short break, for nearly eleven years under himself and his predecessor. On the 30th, Melbourne in one house, and Russell in the other, announced that their resignations had been accepted. The queen sent for Peel and entrusted him with the task of forming the new administration.

CHAPTER II.

SIR ROBERT PEEL'S MINISTRY.

HAVING defeated the whigs by a decisive majority, Peel proceeded to form an administration, representative of the great interests and strong in talent and experience. Wellington, who entered the cabinet without office, undertook the leadership of the upper house; Lyndhurst became lord chancellor for the third time; foreign affairs were entrusted to the cautious hands of Lord Aberdeen. In the commons the prime minister's principal colleagues were Sir James Graham, home secretary, Stanley, secretary for war and the colonies, and Goulburn, chancellor of the exchequer. Among the rising men who received minor appointments were Lord Canning, Lord Dalhousie, Sidney Herbert, and Gladstone, who became vice-president of the board of trade. Peel made vain efforts to secure Lord Ashley, a high-minded philanthropist, who suspected the premier of wishing to curb his reforming zeal by a post in the royal household;[1] but Disraeli was ignored in spite of his own strongly worded memorandum setting forth his services to the party.[2] Though the cabinet consisted of no less than fifteen persons it was under Peel's complete control, and the whole administration became "perfectly organised by his sleepless energy".[3]

Parliament was prorogued on October 7, after Goulburn had been authorised to obtain a loan of £5,000,000 to be applied half in meeting the deficit and half in funding exchequer bills. When the legislature reassembled early in 1842, the queen's speech recommended that immediate attention should be

[1] Hodder, *Life of Lord Shaftesbury* (1887 ed.), p. 189 *et seq.*
[2] *Peel Papers*, ii., 486-89.
[3] Gladstone, *Gleanings of Past Years*, i., 243.

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paid to "the state of the finances and of the expenditure of the country"; and to the "laws which affect the import of corn and other articles, the produce of foreign countries". Peel's measures for dealing with an almost desperate financial situation embraced: (1) a modification of the corn law; (2) the revival of the income tax, hitherto imposed only in war; (3) sweeping alterations in the tariff. On February 9 he introduced the first of these expedients in a speech lasting close upon three hours. As yet a protectionist, he ventured merely upon altering the sliding scale of 1828, reducing the amount of the duty and adjusting it so as to encourage importation. He retained the minimum duty of 1s. when corn sold at 73s. a quarter; he fixed a maximum duty of 20s. when corn was selling at from 50s. to 51s. the quarter; and he carefully graduated the increase between the two extremes. His agricultural supporters strongly demurred to the change, limited though it was, and though he insisted in the course of his speech that he would never be a party to a measure making the country dependent on foreign lands for a considerable portion of its supply of corn.[1] But when Russell produced the whig alternative of a fixed duty of 8s., "a table-land ending in a precipice," as Gladstone called it, he was defeated by over 120 votes, and Villiers's annual motion for the repeal of the corn laws was rejected by a majority of over four to one.

Confronted by a deficiency, accumulated and prospective, of over £10,000,000, Peel took personal charge of the budget. With an earnest appeal to the possessors of property to unite with him in repairing this "mighty evil," he brought forward a property tax, to be imposed for three years, of 7d. in the pound on incomes of £150 per annum and upwards. He excluded Ireland from its operation, placing instead an extra shilling on each gallon of spirits. By these and other changes, he calculated that he would secure a surplus of £1,960,000. He was thus enabled to bring about extensive and scientific reductions of the tariff. He proposed to limit the duties on raw materials to 5 per cent., on articles partly manufactured to 12 per cent., and on manufactured articles to 20 per cent. of their value. Though 750 out of the 1,200 articles on the tariff were affected

[1] *Parl. Debates*, Feb. 9, 1842.

by these modifications, the loss to the revenue was only £270,000 a year. He also reduced the duties on imported cattle, fresh and salted meat, butter, vegetables, and foreign and colonial timber. The debates on these comprehensive financial reforms occupied nearly the whole of the session. The opposition fought the income tax at every stage of its progress, Cobden being one of a small group who persisted in obstructive motions for adjournment. The tariff was even more hotly debated. "Whither will he lead us?" was already the murmur of many of Peel's followers. To one of them, Croker, he replied: "I can assure you that the difficulty will be to prove that we have gone far enough *in concession*—that is, relaxation of prohibitions and protections—not that we have gone too far".[1] The premier's explanations seem to have satisfied his friends, but Croker's apprehensions would have revived with even greater intensity had he known that Graham, the home secretary, wrote to his chief before the end of the year: "The next change in the corn laws must be to an open trade, and if our population increase for two or three years at the rate of 300,000 per annum, you may throw open the ports".[2] Strikes in the north and midlands, riots promoted by the chartists, and described by the home secretary as "a social insurrection of a very formidable character," and destitution, necessitating in the case of Paisley alone the support of 9,000 people by charity, set their mark upon the financial proposals of 1843. Customs and excise showed a loss of £2,000,000. Fortunately the yield of the new income tax had exceeded Peel's cautious calculation; instead of bringing in £3,700,000 it returned £5,000,000. Little more was attempted, however, than a further reduction of the duties on timber.

A twelvemonth later public confidence had revived to such an extent that Goulburn succeeded in effecting a considerable conversion of the public debt. Old stocks, nearly £250,000,000 in value and bearing interest at 3½ per cent., were changed into a new stock bearing 3¼ per cent. interest for ten years and 3 per cent. afterwards, with the ultimate saving of £1,150,000 per annum.[3] During the debates on the unambitious budget of the

[1] *Croker Papers*, ii., 380. [2] *Peel Papers*, ii., 550.

[3] Sir S. Northcote (Lord Iddesleigh), *Twenty Years of Financial Policy*, p. 53.

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year, which had included the abolition of the import and export duties on wool, the government suffered a defeat on the sugar duties, at the instance of one of its usual supporters, Miles, one of the members for Bristol. Peel insisted on the house reversing its vote; but the solidity of the conservatives had been much shaken by his constant deviations from protectionist principles.

The Bank Charter Act of 1844 must always be regarded as Peel's most memorable achievement in pure finance. The insecurity of the currency had been impressed upon his mind by the evidence produced before the house of commons committee of 1840, particularly that of Jones Loyd, afterwards Lord Overstone. Both in England and the United States there had been much over-trading, with the result that the number of joint-stock banks, established under the act of 1826, rose in this country from 55 to 100 between 1834 and 1836. Then came the bad harvests of 1838 and 1839; the exchange was depressed, and, while there was a severe drain for gold on the Bank of England, its country competitors kept on increasing their paper issues. In June of the preceding year the bullion in the coffers at Threadneedle Street was reduced to £4,344,000, so that Great Britain narrowly escaped a terrible crisis. America was not so fortunate; every bank in the United States stopped payment, and no less than 180 never resumed business. As the author of the act of 1819, substituting a convertible for an inconvertible currency, Peel witnessed with dismay a circulation of paper money which vastly exceeded the gold that should be producible on demand. The recklessness of the country banks had brought the country very close to the suspension of cash payments.

Peel determined, therefore, upon revising the charter of the Bank of England, so that the paper currency could be kept under reasonable control. In order to attain that end he availed himself of a suggestion of Jones Loyd, and separated the issue from the banking department of the Bank of England, the two businesses having hitherto been conducted together. The management of the latter was still left to the discretion of the directors. But the issue department was practically placed under state control. Taking the average of seven years, Peel assumed that the note circulation of the Bank of England could not under normal conditions be reduced below

£14,000,000. The Bank was authorised, therefore, to issue paper to that amount on the security of the debt due to it from the government and exchequer bills. But all issues above the maximum must be balanced by the paying in of an equal amount of bullion, three-fourths of which was to consist of gold. With his customary caution Peel refrained from extinguishing altogether the issues of country banks, but limited the notes to the existing amount, £8,500,000, insisted on the weekly publication of accounts, and prohibited new banks from issuing paper money. He hoped that the local banks would gradually surrender their privilege by arrangement with the Bank of England. In that event the Bank was to be at liberty to increase its own paper issue by two-thirds of the amount which its competitors had been authorised to circulate, augmenting at the same time its reserve fund. The immediate criticism of this comprehensive scheme consisted chiefly in irrational allegations that it shackled the Bank in the use of its credit and limited the currency. A more valid objection was that it made no provision for seasons of panic. Peel was confident, however, that the authorities would have the courage to suspend the act in an emergency, and his opinion was justified by their conduct during the crises of 1847, 1857, and 1866. In the second instance alone the directors of the Bank of England issued notes in excess of the limitation imposed in 1844; in the other two the mere knowledge that their powers had been enlarged was enough to dissipate alarm. CHAP. II.

Peel's second free trade budget was introduced early in the session of 1845. The income tax expired that year, and, contrary to his original views, he had to appeal for its continuance. Without it there would be a deficit; with it a surplus of £3,400,000. If the income tax were retained, he saw his way clear to considerable extensions of the policy of 1842. He would reduce still further the duties on raw materials —abolishing that on cotton altogether—and on articles of general consumption, the remissions on sugar being estimated at no less than £1,300,000. He would take away all duties on British exports, including the duty on coal imposed by himself in 1842, at the cost of £118,000; and wipe as many as 430 articles off the tariff at the cost of £320,000. The excise duty on glass, much resented because it entailed the constant super-

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vision of the manufacture by government officials, was abolished. So was that on auctions, which led to much evasion of the law, articles being put up to test their value, bought in and then sold by private arrangement to the highest bidder. These sweeping modifications were accompanied by the acknowledgment that the principles laid down might have been carried further. "But while adopting right principles," continued Peel, "the government desire to allow for the present state of society, and to avoid such hasty interference with important interests as may have the effect for a time of paralysing industry."

The opposition insisted on numerous divisions, but, with the exception of the discriminating duties in favour of colonial sugar, they could not take real exception to measures conceived essentially in the spirit of free trade. Peel humorously wrote to the queen that "Lord John Russell and other members of the opposition, while they denounced the income tax as inquisitorial, oppressive, and unjust, declared somewhat inconsistently that they would vote for its continuance".[1] But Stanley, who had been raised to the upper house, so as to give the government the benefit of his oratorical ability in that chamber, warned Peel as the result of his observations from the peers' gallery that "our men look sulky". A month or so later, Graham owned to Croker that the country gentlemen were out of humour and that the existence of the government was endangered by their temper. Voiceless hitherto except for an occasional outburst of indignation, they found at last a spokesman in Benjamin Disraeli. Known hitherto chiefly as a brilliant novelist, a whimsical man of fashion, a keen satirist, and a somewhat unstable political adventurer, Disraeli was now rapidly forcing his powerful and original personality upon a reluctant and suspicious house of commons. At the beginning of the previous session, Peel had deliberately omitted to send him the usual circular of summons to parliament and had treated his remonstrance with frigid disdain. Disraeli now flung aside the mask and attacked the prime minister in invective barbed with personal resentment. Peel, he declared, had caught the whigs bathing, and walked away with their clothes; he was a political Petruchio who had tamed the shrew of liberalism with

[1] *Peel Papers*, ii., 170.

her own tactics; and he wound up a bitter tirade by denouncing a conservative government as "an organised hypocrisy". The prime minister was totally at a loss to parry this brilliant assault. He could only meet it by calling attention to Disraeli's former professions of attachment, and by asserting that he then held the panegyric in the same estimation with which he now regarded the attack.[1] CHAP. II.

The continued depression of agriculture had encouraged the anti-corn law league to increase its activities and perfect its organisation. In the commons the majorities against Villiers's annual demand for the repeal of the corn laws sank from 381 in 1843 to 328 in 1844, and 254 in 1845. In the last two years Cobden had carried the war into the enemy's country by moving for a committee to inquire into the condition of the agricultural classes and the effect of the corn laws upon them. On the second occasion, March 13, he made what was generally considered his most powerful speech. Peel listened to him with increasing embarrassment, and at length crumpled up the notes he was taking and said to Sidney Herbert, "*You* must answer this for *I* cannot".[2]

The "condition of the people" question, as Disraeli called it in his novel, *Coningsby*, engrossed the time of parliament in session after session. To some extent it became a move in the party game. When the free traders made scornful allusion to the sufferings of the agricultural poor, the country gentlemen could point, and did point, by way of reply, to the oppression of the children in mines and factories. Still the two houses were animated, on the whole, by a genuine desire to improve the surroundings and morals of the working-classes. In certain instances the zeal of philanthropically-minded members like Lord Ashley and Sir Robert Inglis considerably outran the support given to them by the government; "all Peel's affinities are towards wealth and capital," noted Ashley in his diary.[3] When, in 1842, the debates on the renewal of the poor law brought to light much maladministration and harshness, pressure had to be put on Graham before he would modify regula-

[1] *Parl. Debates*, February 28 and March 17, 1845.

[2] Morley, *Life of Cobden*, i., 318. Another version of Peel's exclamation is "Let those answer him who can".

[3] Hodder, *Shaftesbury*, p. 218.

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tions under which grown-up girls were flogged, and sick people subjected to a wholly unsuitable dietary. It was not until four years afterwards that he introduced a measure mitigating the hardships of a law of settlement under which wives could be removed from their husbands' parish and children from that of their parents.

In 1840 Ashley had moved for a commission to inquire into the employment of children in mines and collieries. Two years later the first report was issued, and in the words of the philanthropist, it was an "awful document" calling forth a feeling of "shame, terror and indignation".[1] It showed that children were kept for twelve or thirteen hours a day in the dark at the terribly monotonous occupation of opening and shutting a door; that boys and girls, naked to the waist, were forced to drag masses of coal on their hands and knees by "girdle and chain"; that younger victims, six or seven years old, had to carry half a hundredweight of coal up precipitous steps many times a day; that health, morals, and education were totally neglected. Ashley thereupon introduced a bill excluding women from mines altogether, and forbidding the employment of children under thirteen. He received little support from the government, and had some difficulty in finding a peer to take charge of his measure in the upper house. The outcry of the colliery owners, too, forced him to accept a compromise by which boys of ten could be employed three days a week. But at least a beginning had been made in the regulation of child labour by the state.

Encouraged by this substantial success, Ashley, at the beginning of 1843, proposed and carried without a division an address to the crown for the diffusion of moral and religious education among the working classes. The second report of the children's employment commission strengthened his case, since it proved that in many trades children began to work at seven, six, five, and even four years of age, and that they were frequently apprenticed for long terms, receiving food and clothing only and no wages. Graham attempted to grapple with these evils by means of a bill dealing at once with the hours of labour and the education of the young in the factory districts.

[1] The report and evidence are in *Parliamentary Papers*, 1842, xv., xvi., xvii.

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He proposed that children under eight years should not be employed at all; that those under thirteen should not work more than six and a half hours a day; that boys under eighteen and girls under twenty-one (described in the measure as "young persons") should not work more than twelve hours daily with a half-holiday on Saturdays. The clauses dealing with the hours of labour of young persons encountered the fiercest opposition from politicians of the Manchester school, who held the individualist doctrine that in such matters the working classes were strong enough to protect themselves.[1] Graham quailed before the general clamour and sacrificed his bill for the year.

Early in the session of 1844 Graham re-introduced his factory bill, freed, as he hoped, of controversial matter by the discarding of the education clauses, and with the minimum age raised from eight to nine. But he reckoned without Ashley, who, after the measure had passed its second reading, endeavoured to graft on to it in committee an amendment fixing the hours of labour for young persons and for women at ten. The traditional divisions of party were obliterated by this memorable proposal. Of the liberal leaders, Russell and Palmerston voted with Ashley, but his supporters consisted chiefly of those to whom Cobden alluded in his private correspondence as the "socialist fools" behind Peel and Graham.[2] The prime minister and home secretary themselves went into the same lobby as manufacturing liberals and economic radicals, convinced that state interference with labour would end in disaster to the community; and, as Ashley noted, the "saints" who agitated against negro slavery abroad, seemed indifferent to the hardships endured by the wives and children of British artisans. He succeeded in defeating the government in two successive divisions, but failed to introduce his ten hours into the enacted clauses of the bill, while Graham's alternative, twelve hours, was also defeated on March 22 by a small majority. The only way out of this chaos was to bring in a new bill, and members generally expected that an eleven hours' com-

[1] Cobden accepted the regulation of child labour, but set his face against any "interference with the freedom of adult labour". His views were expressed very clearly in a letter to the chairman of his committee in 1836 (Morley, *Cobden*, i., appendix).

[2] Morley, *Cobden*, i., 302.

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promise would be adopted. The home secretary adhered, however, to his principle, and the third edition of his measure proved to be practically identical with the second. On May 10, Ashley again moved the introduction of a clause, limiting the hours of labour for women and young persons to ten. He was hotly criticised by Bright, an even more extreme individualist than Cobden, but gained an important convert in Macaulay. The government expected defeat, but were saved by the personal influence of Peel, who intimated at the close of his speech that if the result were unfavourable to his views he "would retire with perfect satisfaction into a private station, wishing well to the result of your legislation".[1] In obedience to this threat many conservatives voted against Ashley, and he was defeated by 277 to 159. "The majority," wrote Ashley in his diary, "was one to save the government, not against the question of ten hours."

He was right. Official disapproval, as Greville predicted, utterly failed to quench the sentiment set ablaze by his philanthropic agitation. He found allies in the "young England" wing of the tory party; Disraeli, George Smythe, and Lord John Manners imitated him by going into the manufacturing districts to see things with their own eyes. The ablest of these tory reformers published *Sybil* in 1845, intimating in his introduction that dreadful though his revelations were, there was much that he had to leave unwritten. Earlier in the year Ashley brought in a bill to regulate labour in calico printworks and bleaching grounds, the act of the previous session having applied to cotton and silk mills. Once more he harrowed the feelings of the house by stories of children put to work, sometimes at three or four years old, and of young girls toiling under unhealthy conditions from sixteen to eighteen hours a day. He alarmed the manufacturing interests by the peroration: "Sir, it has been said to me more than once, 'Where will you stop?' I reply, without hesitation, 'Nowhere, so long as any portion of this mighty evil remains to be removed'." Graham, "complimentary, cold, hostile, and subtle," as Ashley called him in his diary, accepted the bill, but reserved to himself the right of amending it. In its final form it prohibited

[1] *Parl. Debates*, May 13, 1844. Some lively comments on the division are to be found in Greville.

altogether the employment of children under eight, and of all girls and of boys under thirteen at night work.

The ten hours' principle had to wait for two more years before it became law. In 1846 Fielden, the member for Oldham, took charge of the bill, and it was thrown out by a majority of ten, after Graham had announced the firm determination of the government to resist its progress. The advent of the whigs to office increased its chances, though it was as unpopular as ever with economic radicals like Roebuck and Hume. On May 3, 1847, Fielden had the satisfaction of carrying the third reading by a majority of sixty-three, and it passed the house of lords without difficulty, in spite of a powerful speech by Brougham based on the assumption that a ten hours' restriction would lower the rate of wages. Thus was a great principle established, but the manufacturers checked its application for several years by a system of relays which baffled the government inspectors, and the county justices assisted them in evading the purposes of the act. It was not until 1850 that a legal working day was established for women and young persons, lasting from six in the morning till six in the evening, with an hour and a half for meals. Ten years later Graham and Roebuck acknowledged in the house that their apprehensions as to the effect of the limitation of hours upon the profits of manufacturers, and consequently upon the wages of the working classes, had been baseless.[1]

Among the minor reforms to the credit of Peel's ministry is the lunacy act of 1842, introduced by Lord Granville Somerset, which extended the metropolitan system of inspection to the provinces. Armed with larger powers, the commissioners published a report two years later, the "Domesday Book," as it was called, "of all that, up to that time, concerned institutions for the insane," which disclosed the most flagrant abuses. At the request of the government, Ashley on June 6, 1845, brought in two bills; the first "For the regulation of lunatic asylums," established a permanent lunacy commission with greatly widened functions, the second "For the better care and treatment of lunatics in England and Wales," provided

[1] An excellent summary of the last stages of the ten hours' movement is to be found in Hodder's *Shaftesbury*, ch. xv. See also Von Plener's *English Factory Legislation*, translated by Weinman (1873).

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for the compulsory erection of county asylums, with separate buildings for chronic cases, and for the medical inspection of lunatics kept under private control.

As legacies from the Melbourne government, the conservatives inherited wars with Afghanistan and China, and unfriendly relations with France and the United States. Lord Ellenborough, who succeeded Lord Auckland as governor-general, announced at a farewell dinner on November 3, 1841, that he went out "to restore peace to Asia". The Afghan policy of his predecessor had, indeed, brought disaster and disgrace upon the Indian administration. The surrender of Dost Muhammad at the close of 1840 and his internment in India were followed by a deceptive calm. The commander of the troops at Kábul was General Elphinstone, a man of frail health, with Macnaghten, who was about to be replaced by Sir Alexander Burnes, as his political adviser. Elphinstone proved quite incapable of meeting the emergency when, after various uneasy movements of the tribesmen, he was confronted on November 2, 1841, by a general insurrection. Burnes was attacked and murdered in his own house; and the general, deprived of his wisest counsellor, lay inactive in his cantonments, though a prompt and vigorous exercise of force might even then have reduced the city to submission. Pressed by Elphinstone to arrange a retreat at all costs, Macnaghten entangled himself in tortuous negotiations both with Dost Muhammad's son, Akhbar Khán, and with some of the chiefs who supported the now powerless English nominee, Sháh Shujá. One tragedy followed hard upon another. On December 23 Macnaghten was entrapped and murdered by Akhbar. But the general still continued the negotiations, the treaty of evacuation was signed on January 1, 1842, and on the 6th the British marched out of their cantonments and the memorable and disastrous retreat began. The ignominy of the conditions to which they had consented was not even alleviated by their fulfilment. Akhbar could probably not have restrained his own followers, even if he had desired to do so, and he had little authority with the wild tribesmen who fell upon the force as it retired through the mountains and slaughtered it at their pleasure. The demoralised and straggling crowd of British, sepoys, camp followers, and women and children, could offer no resistance to their assail-

ants. The women and children and some of the officers were delivered over to Akhbar, who promised to secure their safety, on the third day; and then the entire body of 4,500 fighting men and over 10,000 followers was destroyed by incessant attacks. By the eighth day all had perished with the exception of a solitary survivor, Dr. Brydon, who managed to reel into Jalálabád. That town still held out under General Sale, who defended the place with determined energy in spite of the orders he had received from Elphinstone to fall back into India. Behind inadequate fortifications, further weakened by repeated shocks of earthquake, and with a scanty supply of provisions, Sale resisted all assaults from November 19 to April 1; and then bringing Akhbar to a general action he scattered the Afghans and inflicted on them severe losses in men, guns and camp equipment.

When Ellenborough arrived at Calcutta Sale was still hard pressed at Jalálabád; General Nott was isolated at Kandahar; Ghazni was besieged and ultimately capitulated; and Sir George Pollock, the new commander-in-chief, was laboriously organising an advance by way of the Kháibar. The governor-general had not long to wait before the pass was forced and Sale relieved on April 16, while a column, penetrating the Bolan, entered Kandahar on May 10. A man of precipitate resolutions, and instructed, besides, to reverse the policy of his predecessor, Ellenborough thereupon directed the two forces to retire to India at the earliest opportunity. In default of successful negotiations the captives would have been left to their fate. Fortunately the arrival of the hot season rendered it impossible to carry out the order; Pollock warned Nott to stay where he was pending further instructions, and meanwhile remonstrated earnestly with the governor-general. In July, Ellenborough decided on leaving an advance on Kábul or, as he preferred to call it, a retirement by way of Kábul, to the discretion of the generals. He has been severely censured for his refusal to accept responsibility, but his evident feeling was that, in matters essentially military, military minds should determine. In any case, he authorised the brilliant operations which resulted in the hoisting of the British flag on the citadel of Kábul on September 16, the recovery of the prisoners, who by heavy bribes finally effected their own deliverance, and a

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triumphant return to India after the town and fortress of Jalálabád had been destroyed. Ellenborough's rodomontade, more especially his letter to the princes of India, proclaiming that by bringing back the gates of Somnáth from Ghazni—gates subsequently ascertained to be of modern date—he had avenged an insult of 800 years endured by Hindus at the hands of Mohammedans, covered his Afghan policy with ridicule. As a sequel, his annexation of Sind through the brilliant daring of Sir Charles Napier, who with a handful of men routed the amírs at Miáni in August, 1843, though defended by Peel, was censured as an act of aggression. In June, 1844, he received a despatch from the directors, whom he had treated with ill-concealed contempt, ordering his recall.

Meanwhile military operations had been going on in China, and even when the situation in Afghanistan looked almost desperate, Ellenborough courageously refrained from diverting to India any of the forces destined for the far east. The disputes with the Chinese authorities over the opium trade had culminated in an open rupture. The war, never popular in England, had grown out of the arbitrary action of commissioner Lin, who in 1837 had attempted to suppress the importation of opium at one stroke. Frequent quarrels between British sailors and Chinese aggravated the difficulty, and by the beginning of 1840 the two countries were at war. After an ineffective demonstration off the mouth of the Peiho, the British forces occupied the island of Chusan, where one-fourth of the men succumbed to fever, and nearly half the survivors were invalided. Reinforcements turned the scale in the following year, and Canton lay at the mercy of the English troops. With injudicious moderation, Captain Elliot, the British agent, accepted a ransom of £1,150,000 and checked the advance. He was recalled and replaced by Sir Henry Pottinger. After hostilities on the Yang-tzse, vigorously conducted by Sir Hugh Gough and Admiral Parker, had placed Nankin within their grasp, the British agent was able, on August 26, 1842, to conclude a treaty by which the Chinese ceded Hong-kong in perpetuity, opened five ports, including Canton and Shanghai, to the trade of the world, and paid an indemnity of £4,375,000, in addition to the amount already extracted. Moralists of the severer type were unable to reconcile themselves to the arguments adduced

in justification of the war. Ashley even brought forward a resolution for the suppression of the opium trade, but withdrew it after a debate turning on the inability of the Indian government to part with a revenue of £1,000,000, or more.[1] CHAP. II.

"I had a talk with Dedel," wrote Greville in January, 1842, "who said that Palmerston had contrived to alienate all nations from us by his insolence and violence, so that we had not now a friend in the world, while from the vast complication of our interests and affairs we were exposed to perpetual danger."[2] The Dutch ambassador was hardly an impartial witness, nor Greville a sympathetic diarist where Palmerston was concerned. That masterful diplomatist, however, had irritated the great powers not a little, especially by his habit of placing the weaker governments of Europe under British tutelage. To France, still smarting under the rebuff to her eastern policy which he had administered in 1840, his successor, Lord Aberdeen, hastened to make friendly overtures. He was fortunate in having to deal with Guizot, a statesman of similar temperament to his own, austere, philosophical, and pacific. Their respective sovereigns gave them valuable help, for Louis Philippe was determined to preserve peace with England at all costs, and a corresponding sentiment animated the queen and Prince Albert, who were besides personally attached to Aberdeen. Nevertheless the two statesmen had to contend with the greatest difficulties in bringing about a good understanding. Their countries still cherished mutual resentment and mistrust, which newspapers were disposed to magnify and parliamentary oppositions to turn to political account. In the English cabinet those views were represented by the Duke of Wellington, who regarded France as an hereditary enemy and was alarmed by her military preparations. Peel and Graham, confiding in his experience, were always liable to discover evidence of covert hostility in the proceedings of Louis Philippe's government.

A further obstacle to a durable understanding consisted in the disposition of British and French agents to intrigue and counter-intrigue for ascendency in the countries to which they were accredited. Thus after the Greek revolution of 1843,

[1] For Elliot's diplomacy, see Sir Henry Taylor, *Autobiography*, vol. i., appendix, and *Foreign Office Papers*, vol. xxix.

[2] Greville, *Memoirs*, v., 74.

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Aberdeen had to reprimand with some severity our minister at Athens, Sir Edmund Lyons, who, in opposition to his French colleague, patronised one of the party leaders and spared no exertion to sustain him and discredit his adversary. "You are to recollect," wrote the foreign secretary, "that Greece is not England, and that if the king and chambers prefer a bad ministry to a good one, it is their own misfortune, but they are supreme."[1] This language must have appeared strange indeed to diplomatists educated in the Palmerstonian school.

The difficulty of keeping the activities of subordinates under restraint became far greater when they involved distant countries, with which communication was slow and infrequent. Thus the Tahiti affair of 1843 and 1844 brought the two powers within sight of war. The dispute was precipitated by Admiral du Petit-Thouars, who took upon himself to declare a French protectorate over the Society Islands, of which Tahiti is the most important. Aberdeen acquiesced in his proceedings, but in the meantime Pritchard, an ex-missionary, who had become British consul, restored Queen Pomaré with the help of a British vessel of war. Petit-Thouars retaliated by deposing her and annexing the Society Islands, and Pritchard, who had resigned his official functions, was thrown into prison. This "outrage on a British consul" was fiercely resented by every class of society, and Peel from his place in the house of commons, denounced "the gross insult accompanied by a gross indignity".[2] As a matter of fact Pritchard had voluntarily laid down his authority when Queen Pomaré had been deposed, so that his imprisonment, an act of injustice to an Englishman though it had been, by no means amounted to an affront to our government. Still the majority of the cabinet decided that he should be sent back to Tahiti in a man-of-war, and remain there until the French consul had been recalled. This extreme measure was rendered unnecessary by the good sense of Pritchard himself, who suggested to Aberdeen that compensation in money might solve the difficulty. The suggestion was adopted by the French government, and the queen was able

[1] Lord Stanmore, *Life of Lord Aberdeen*, p. 160.
[2] *Parl. Debates*, July 31, 1844.

to announce when she prorogued parliament that the dispute was ended.[1]

In October, 1844, Louis Philippe, accompanied by Guizot, braved the outcry of a section of the French press by visiting the queen and Prince Albert at Windsor. His reply to the address presented by the corporation of London produced an excellent impression. "France," he said, "has nothing to ask of England, and England has nothing to ask of France, but cordial union." These words did a good deal to conciliate public opinion, which, however, took fresh alarm at the supposed designs of the French against the integrity of Morocco. Driven from Algeria by the flying columns of Marshal Bugeaud, the Arab chief, Abd-el-Kader, had taken refuge in that country and had used it as a recruiting ground. The French outposts were attacked, and there was reason to believe that a relative of the sultan was present with the levies. The French consul at Tangier was thereupon instructed to demand from the sultan a disavowal of all complicity with the incursion into Algeria, the recall of the Moorish troops, and the expulsion of Abd-el-Kader from his dominions. At the same time the Prince de Joinville, a son of Louis Philippe, supposed to entertain strongly anti-English sentiments, was appointed to command the French Mediterranean squadron.[2] Aberdeen directed the British consul at Tangier to advise the Moors to give way, while the British admiral was ordered to remain passively observant. The sultan, proving obdurate, Joinville bombarded Tangier on August 6 and dismantled Mogador nine days later. Bugeaud, too, brought the Moorish army to a general action and gained a complete victory. The sultan, thereupon, conceded the French demands, and with the retirement of the attacking forces the English people recovered their equanimity. But the *entente cordiale* did not extend far beyond the two courts and the two foreign offices. The Duke of Wellington, in particular, was convinced that England lay

[1] Guizot tells the story of the Pritchard affair in vol. vii. of his *Mémoires* with a reasonable approach to impartiality.

[2] The Prince de Joinville was the author of a pamphlet, *Note sur les forces navales de la France*, in which his countrymen were urged to strengthen their fleet as against the English. His memoirs, which have been translated into English by Lady Mary Loyd, prove him, however, to have cherished but little animosity against this country.

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in serious danger of invasion by a French force, and, as commander-in-chief, wrote despatch after despatch to Peel, concluding with an official remonstrance in which that danger was called "certain and imminent".[1]

On his accession to office, Aberdeen found British relations with the United States in a most critical condition. One cause of mutual animosity disappeared in the acquittal of McLeod, an English subject, who had been arrested in New York and tried for murder on account of his share in the destruction of the steamer *Caroline* during the Canadian rebellion of 1838. There remained some intricate boundary questions, which might at any time have involved the two nations in war through a quarrel on the spot between British and American settlers. The United States also refused the right of British cruisers, engaged in suppressing the African slave trade, to visit vessels flying the stars-and-stripes for the purpose of ascertaining whether they were slavers or not. The Peel ministry determined to send Lord Ashburton on a special mission to Washington. Ashburton and Webster, the American secretary of state, came to an agreement as to the north-eastern frontier by taking away from the Union a strip of country claimed by Maine and Massachusetts and adding to New York and Vermont lands claimed by Canada. An apology for the destruction of the *Caroline* in American waters prepared the way for a promise on the part of the United States, while declining to admit the right of visit, to maintain an adequate squadron on the African coast to help in the suppression of the slave trade.[2] The Ashburton-Webster treaty, which was signed on August 9, 1842, was hotly criticised by angry patriots on both sides of the Atlantic. Palmerston stigmatised it as a "bad and very disadvantageous bargain for England". But the debate raised on his motion collapsed, after Disraeli had pointed out that under the treaty Canada had gained more territory than Palmerston himself had been willing to accept on her behalf.[3]

In his anxiety to return home Ashburton unfortunately left the boundary on the western side of the Rocky Mountains to be settled by ordinary diplomatic methods. Negotiations

[1] *Peel Papers*, iii., 205.
[2] *Foreign Office Papers*, vol. xxx.
[3] *Parl. Debates*, March 22, 1843.

drifted languidly, and meanwhile a movement for the organisation and occupation of the Oregon territory grew up in the United States. It received complete countenance from Polk, Tyler's successor in the presidency. "Our title to the country of Oregon," he declared in his inaugural message to congress, "is clear and unquestionable." Peel and Aberdeen retorted with equally uncompromising language, and war seemed imminent.[1] But though extreme politicians in the United States denounced Great Britain in violent terms, a compromise was adopted in 1845. Congress placed the termination of the convention of 1827 (under which the two powers jointly held the disputed territory)[2] at the discretion of the president, expressing a hope at the same time that "the attention of the government of both countries may be more earnestly directed to the adoption of all proper measures for the speedy and amicable adjustment of the said territory". In a similar spirit the queen's speech had assured parliament that "no effort consistent with national honour shall be wanting on my part to bring this question to an early and peaceful conclusion". Aberdeen resolved to take the conduct of affairs into his own hands. He submitted specific proposals to Washington, offering to incorporate them in a treaty. These provisions continued the forty-ninth parallel to the western side of the Rocky Mountains as the boundary between the two countries, but reserved the whole of Vancouver Island to Great Britain, and made the navigation of the Columbia free to the subjects of both countries. Aberdeen was able to announce their acceptance by the American government on the very day that the administration resigned.

In Ireland the revival of the agitation for the repeal of the Act of Union gave but little chance to the policy of conciliation which Peel was anxious to pursue. In anticipation of the fall of the whigs, O'Connell in 1838 had founded the Precursor Association. It had but little vitality, nor was its successor, the Catholic Association, much more successful until, in 1842, a band of young journalists, including Charles Gavan Duffy and Thomas Davis, founded the *Nation* newspaper and set

[1] *Parl. Debates*, April 4, 1845.

[2] *Foreign Office Papers*, vol. xxxiv., p. 134.

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popular passions aflame with their eloquent articles and verses. O'Connell placed himself at the head of a movement which had already passed beyond his control. He boldly declared that 1843 would be the repeal year, and while his subordinates zealously collected "rent" from a willing peasantry, he addressed meetings numbering hundreds of thousands at Mullingar, Charleville, the "Sacred Hill of Tara," and elsewhere. While O'Connell was talking, the government had taken action. On May 23, 1843, Sugden, as lord chancellor of Ireland, dismissed from the magistracy Lord French, O'Connell himself, and thirty-two other justices who had taken part in the meetings of the Repeal Association. The Irish arms act was renewed in spite of the persistent obstruction of whigs, radicals, and Irishmen. The Duke poured 35,000 troops into Ireland and held more in reserve at points in the north and west of England; barracks and forts were repaired; ships-of-war anchored in the harbours. Finally the government "proclaimed" a meeting, which was to have been held at Clontarf on Sunday, October 5, and occupied the ground with a force of all arms. O'Connell gave way. He directed one henchman to pull down the platform, and others to disperse the crowds. But he had gone back upon his word and his power began to totter.

On October 14 the government struck another blow by the arrest of O'Connell and his principal associates on a charge of conspiracy. The indictment was portentous in length and obscure in phraseology. Further, the minor officials took upon themselves to pack the jury, and Pennefather, the presiding judge, displayed the temper of a partisan. After a prolonged trial the traversers were found guilty, and sentence was deferred until the following term. O'Connell employed the interval in a noisy progress through England, from which responsible liberals held aloof. On May 30, 1844, he was sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment and a fine of £2,000. But the irregularities at his trial had been too flagrant, and on September 4 the house of lords reversed the verdict on appeal. Four of the five judges were evenly divided, but Denman carried the day by his memorable saying that if such a practice as the manipulation of panels could proceed without a remedy, then trial by jury was "a mockery, a delusion, and a snare". The "liberator" emerged from prison to find that, in spite

of popular demonstrations, authority had passed from him to the extremists of the Young Ireland party. His new plan of federalism was no sooner formed than he had to recant it, and events ripened into the rebellion of 1848.

For the moment, however, Peel appeared to have set his heel on Irish disaffection, and was free to revert to his conciliatory policy. He had already appointed a royal commission, under the presidency of Lord Devon, to inquire into the "state of the law and practice in respect to the occupancy of land in Ireland". The report, presented in 1845, commented on the anomalies of a system under which improvements were the work of the tenants, and holdings, except in Ulster, were held under uncertain conditions. Stanley, thereupon, introduced a bill in the house of lords with the object of giving effect to some of its recommendations. He proposed the appointment of a commissioner of improvements, whose approval would entitle tenants, subsequently evicted, to compensation, spread over a term of years, for new drainage and buildings. The measure was received with cold disapproval and Stanley was compelled to withdraw it. On the whole, however, the government's Irish policy in 1844 seemed successful. But Peel was soon to recognise that the grievances of Ireland were economic even more than political, and in the attempt to redress them he found himself committed to measures, which not only wrecked his own ministry and broke up his party, but produced a momentous change in the commercial methods and industrial conditions of the whole kingdom.

CHAPTER III.

THE VICTORY OF FREE TRADE.

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At the close of the year 1844, the government of Sir Robert Peel stood at the height of its popularity. This was mainly due to two fortuitous circumstances. In the first place, the harvest of the foregoing autumn had been highly satisfactory to the agricultural interest. Secondly, a distinct revival of trade had made itself apparent. The latter was generally ascribed to Peel's progressive financial measures. It meant not only prosperity amongst the manufacturing and industrial classes, but the national benefit of a well-filled exchequer through a steady increase of revenue. Nothing could have better illustrated the universal feeling of commercial stability throughout the country, than the fact that no fewer than two hundred railway projects awaited the sanction of the legislature; and the English income tax payer, of recent creation, had almost ceased to grumble at his newly discovered liability. These favourable social and political conditions were excellently reflected when parliament met, February 4, 1845, in the speech from the throne, which scarcely contained anything beyond pompous phrases of self-congratulation, with the exception of one brief paragraph that had lost Peel, on the day before the assembling of parliament, one of his ablest colleagues. "I recommend to your favourable consideration," it stated, "the policy of improving and extending the opportunities for academical education in Ireland."

Peel's proposal was to treble the annual grant made out of the public funds to the Maynooth College for the training of Roman catholic clergy in Ireland, and to establish it as a permanent endowment. The scheme had been under consideration during the greater part of the preceding year, and was virtually

approved by Gladstone, who had however published a treatise, in 1838, on *The State in Its Relations with the Church*, expressing views incompatible, as he thought, with the principles underlying the present proposal for subsidising a college for the Irish catholic priesthood. An exaggerated conscientiousness led him to resign office on this account. He wished to support the Maynooth bill; but he felt that his conduct in doing so would, in the circumstances, be open to suspicion if at the same time he retained his post in the government. His personal explanation of the rupture, given in response to a challenge from Lord John Russell on the first day of the session, was highly characteristic. "His anxiety to explore every nook and cranny of his case," writes his biographer, "and to defend or discover in it every point that human ingenuity could devise for attack, led him to speak for more than an hour; at the end of which even friendly and sympathetic listeners were left wholly at a loss for a clue to the labyrinth." [1] CHAP. III.

Nothing could be more illogical or more bigoted than the storm provoked in Great Britain by this attempt to perform an act of justice towards Ireland. The Roman catholics had already been admitted to civil and political privileges, and it was only in the natural sequence of things that they should receive state aid in training their priesthood. Pitt had certainly contemplated, if he had not actually promised, the fullest measure of reform in this respect forty-five years previously. Yet Peel, on endeavouring to carry out a portion of the comprehensive policy of his great predecessor, was denounced as a traitor by the very inheritors of Pitt's political principles. As the bill progressed through parliament, petitions against it poured in from all sides to such an extent that, within the space of little more than a fortnight, nearly 6,000 of these documents were presented at Westminster. In face of all this opposition the measure was carried by a majority of 147; but nearly half the prime minister's followers voted against it. It was passed with the help of the liberals; and their support was given to the bill and not to the man who was responsible for it. Peel, as so often happened during his political career, was vehemently attacked for coming forward

[1] Morley, *Life of Gladstone*, i., 278; *Peel Papers*, iii., 164.

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as the author of legislation for which his opponents thought themselves entitled to take credit.

In the autumn of 1845 events occurred which were destined to exercise the most significant and far-reaching influence upon the future course of national policy. Early in August, before the prorogation of parliament on the 9th, Peel had been informed that a disease had affected the potato plant in the Isle of Wight. In the course of the ensuing weeks alarming reports of a similar nature were received from other parts of the country. By the middle of September serious apprehensions began to be entertained as to the general failure of the potato crop, on which the Irish peasantry were almost entirely dependent for their sustenance. Prompt as Peel was to perceive the gravity of the situation, he hardly understood the full magnitude of the disaster now beginning to threaten the Irish people, who were to be exposed to the horrors of a famine, with an appalling sequel of pestilence, ruin, and depopulation. At this time Peel was in constant communication on the subject with Graham, and things had reached such a pass by October 13 that we find the prime minister on that date writing to the home secretary in the following terms:[1] "I foresee the necessity that may be imposed upon us at an early period of considering whether there is not that well-grounded apprehension of actual scarcity that justifies and compels the adoption of every means of relief which the exercise of the prerogative or legislation might afford. I have no confidence in such remedies as the prohibition of exports, or the stoppage of the distilleries. The removal of impediments to imports is the only effectual remedy." This letter is important as throwing light upon the state of Peel's mind at an early stage in the famine crisis. It is clear that the impediments to which he referred were the restrictions on the importation of foreign corn, and he naturally turned to cheap bread as the one and only means of counteracting the disaster which appeared to threaten the poorest classes in Ireland.

The fact was that Peel, apart from any question of opportunism, had already made up his mind on the subject of the corn laws. He had been moving rapidly in the direction of

[1] *Peel Papers*, part iii., p. 113.

free trade since 1841, and his complete breach with protection was perhaps inevitable even without the stimulus imparted by the famine. "It was my intention," he declares in his *Memoirs*, "but for the unforeseen events of the autumn of 1845, to enter into that friendly communication, the absence of which is blamed and lamented, to apprise the conservative party, before the corn law could be discussed in the session of 1846, that my views with regard to the policy of maintaining that law had undergone a change, and that I could no longer undertake as a minister to resist a motion for the consideration of the whole question." The position in which Peel was placed at the time of the famine crisis, in regard to the question of maintaining or abolishing the corn laws, was somewhat complicated. That he was the leader of a great protectionist party, pledged to preserve the corn duties, was plain; but it was not less obvious to many of his supporters that the mind of their general had been gradually subjected to a process of economic evolution, which was rapidly leading him in the direction of the enemy's camp.

We have Peel's own evidence that this was the case. The history of his past attitude towards the protection of the agricultural interest may be briefly summarised. The corn laws, after having been suspended in 1826 on account of prolonged drought and fear of bad harvests, had been modified by the Wellington government in 1828, on the basis of an elastic import duty in inverse proportion to the price of grain in the home market. In 1841 Russell brought forward a motion in the house of commons in favour of substituting a fixed duty for the duke's sliding scale. This drew from Peel an emphatic declaration in favour of the existing system. "Notwithstanding the formidable combination which has been formed against the corn laws," he stated, "notwithstanding the declaration that either the total repeal or the substitution of a fixed duty for the present scale is the inevitable result of the agitation now going forward, I do not hesitate to avow my adherence to the opinion which I expressed last year, and now again declare, that my preference is decidedly in favour of a graduated scale rather than any fixed duty." What he found fault with in 1841 was not the principle of protecting the farmer against importation of foreign grain, but the unworkable char-

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acter of the corn law of 1828. Early in the session of 1842 he had given effect to these views by introducing a measure by which considerable reductions were made in the duties levied on imported corn. The reform was not carried without opposition on his own side, and the Duke of Buckingham left the government sooner than become a party even to this moderate concession to general interests.

It was, as Peel himself has informed the world, during the interval between the passing of the corn law of 1842 and the close of the session of 1845 that the opinions he had previously entertained on the subject of protection to agriculture underwent the great change which had such notable consequences. He attributes his conversion largely to the circumstance that the popular consumption of articles of food on which he had relaxed the duties in 1842 had increased in a marked degree, as well as to "diminished confidence in the necessity or advantage of protection," and to "the aggravation of every other difficulty in the maintenance of the corn laws".[1] The most potent of these difficulties was the increasing activity of the Anti-corn-law league, which had been greatly stimulated by the return to parliament of Richard Cobden in 1841, for the express purpose of carrying on the free trade agitation in the house of commons. Cobden, with John Bright and other able men associated with them in the work of the league, adopted novel and ingenious methods for gaining public support. There was an energy, an earnestness, and a business-like activity about these leaguers which gave a new tone to political agitation in Great Britain.

The group of middle-class men at the head of the movement had both enthusiasm and practical sagacity; and they were fortunate in their leaders. Cobden was a master of lucid exposition and of the kind of unadorned, plausible, rather obvious argument which appealed to the mercantile intelligence; Bright's splendid oratorical gifts, his imaginative fervour, and the intensity of conviction which lay beneath the rushing torrent of his impassioned rhetoric, carried great popular audiences by storm. Cobden succeeded in impressing himself upon the house of commons during his first session. His maiden speech was

[1] Peel's *Memoirs*, part iii., p. 105.

more than a success in the ordinary sense of attracting attention.[1] In the autumn of the same year Cobden was joined by John Bright. The league was becoming a powerful factor in forming the opinion of the country. But the prime minister had not yet recognised its growing strength. In 1842, when he was about to introduce the new corn bill, he refused point blank to receive a deputation from the league. This treatment stimulated rather than discouraged the agitators. They had already spent a hundred thousand pounds; they now collected fifty thousand more, and redoubled their energies by entering upon a fresh campaign of extraordinary vigour. The agitation was continued with increasing success throughout the year 1843; subscriptions poured into the coffers of the league; in 1844 Cobden added between four and five thousand electors to the county registers in Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Cheshire, inducing artisans to qualify for the forty shilling franchise by investing their savings in cottage property. By 1845 the league was a force no longer to be ignored; and Peel not only admitted the fact but acknowledged himself to be a convert to its views.

Thus he had come to the conclusion, even before the Irish crisis, that the abolition of the corn duties was both necessary in the interests of the country and politically inevitable. On the first real pressure, nineteen years previously, the duties had been suspended, and he considered it impolitic as well as contrary to the national interests to attempt to maintain them when an actual famine seemed in sight. He had a severe struggle with his conscience in October, 1845.[2] Up to that time he had betrayed nobody, and had broken no pledges; but he had arrived at the conviction that protection was no longer advantageous to the country, and that its immediate abandonment had become a matter of urgent public necessity. On October 31 he summoned the cabinet, and read to its members a memorandum embodying the result of his inquiries into the calamity that threatened Ireland, and suggesting the alternative lines of policy that lay before them for dealing with the emergency. Although supported by three of his colleagues, Graham,

[1] Morley, *Life of Cobden*, p. 178.

[2] "I never in my life witnessed such agony," wrote Wellington to Croker of the prime minister's state of mind at this period (*Croker Papers*, iii., 67).

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Aberdeen, and Sidney Herbert, he found the majority opposed to taking any immediate action; and at the adjourned meeting of the cabinet on November 6 his proposal to suspend the corn laws for a limited period, by an order in council, and to summon parliament was definitely rejected.

The final decision of the cabinet was postponed until its next meeting, which had been arranged to take place towards the end of the month. Meanwhile the country was naturally plunged into a state of excitement by these cabinet conclaves which, as Disraeli observes, "perplexed the sagacious Tuileries and disturbed even the serene intelligence of the profound Metternich".[1] This psychological moment was seized upon with remarkable prescience by the leader of the whigs. Russell had consistently advocated the principle of a fixed duty on imported grain; but with his customary opportunist sagacity, he saw that the time had come when protection must inevitably be thrown overboard in deference to the preponderating opinion of the classes which dominated the electorate. The apparent inaction of the government determined him to cast off all reserve. From Edinburgh he launched, on November 22, the manifesto that cleared the political atmosphere within twenty-four hours. In a letter to his constituents in the city of London, Lord John Russell condemned the failure of the government to take active steps for coping with the pressing danger of the moment, and announced his own complete conversion to free trade. "Let us," he wrote, "unite to put an end to a system which has been proved to be the blight of commerce, the bane of agriculture, the source of bitter divisions among classes, the cause of penury, fever, mortality, and crime among the people. . . . The government appear to be waiting for some excuse to give up the present corn law. Let the people by petition, by address, by remonstrance, afford them the excuse they seek."[2] Not only did this political thunderclap force Peel's hand, it was an unlimited triumph for Cobden and the league. Victory was now assured to them. "Your letter," said Bright, in a brief interview with the whig leader,

[1] Disraeli, *Lord George Bentinck: A Political Biography*, 8th ed., p. 14.

[2] Russell's letter was published in the *Morning Chronicle* of November 26, and the *Times* of November 27.

"has now made the total and immediate repeal of the corn law inevitable." CHAP. III.

Two days after the publication of this manifesto, Peel again summoned his colleagues to deliberate. From November 25 to December 5 he endeavoured to convert the cabinet to his own views, confirmed and strengthened beyond doubt by the manner in which his rival had thrown himself into the breach. Wellington, the most important member of the government after the prime minister himself, was a staunch protectionist whom no logic would convince and whom no economic reasoning would move. But the veteran soldier made the whole matter a mere question of serving the queen. As long, he declared, as Peel enjoyed the confidence of his sovereign, so long he considered it to be the duty of himself and others to give him unquestioning support.[1] Lord Stanley and the Duke of Buccleuch were not to be persuaded by such an appeal to yield their personal convictions ; and they announced to Peel their unalterable intention to retire from the government if he persisted in the course he had chosen to adopt. Peel thought that in these circumstances it would be impossible for him to carry matters to a successful issue. On December 4 the *Times* startled the world with the announcement that parliament would meet in the first week in January to consider the corn laws with a view to their total repeal.[2] The following day Peel tendered his resignation to the queen. It was this endeavour on Peel's part to persuade the cabinet to be the authors of repeal, before abandoning the opportunity to their adversaries, that was the main support of the charge of inconsistency brought against him later by the irreconcilable section of his party. We have it, however, on the authority of Gladstone,[3] that Peel's proposal to the cabinet before the December resignation was by no means a whole-hearted concession to free trade, but that it involved a considerable element of protection. It was the events which followed later in the month

[1] Peel's *Memoirs*, part iii., p. 200.

[2] A curious legend arose that the informant of the *Times* was Mrs. Norton, the poetess, who was supposed to have extracted the secret from Sidney Herbert. Aberdeen it was however who took Delane, the editor, into his confidence, suppressing the fact that the government was on the verge of dissolution (*Greville Memoirs*, v., 319).

[3] Morley, *Life of Gladstone*, i., 286.

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that decided Peel to adopt free trade in its entirety. It seems clear enough that whatever flavour of protection may have attached to Peel's initial proposition was due rather to the exigency of keeping the cabinet united, than to any hesitation on his part to give full effect to the convictions he then unquestionably entertained.

The queen, on receiving the resignation of the ministry, at once sent for the whig leader who had had no inconsiderable share in precipitating the crisis. Lord John Russell, in the first place, wished to be assured that an administration, formed by him for the purpose of carrying the repeal of the corn laws, would receive the support of Peel. He even went so far as to propose to submit a draft of his measure to be approved by the ex-premier. Secondly, he was anxious to know if Peel's dissentient colleagues, who might be presumed to have the bulk of the conservative party at their back, were not themselves prepared to take office. The truth is that he was in anything but an enviable position. His party were in a formidable minority in the house of commons; and the Cobdenites, with their advanced radical views, were an unknown quantity on which it might not prove safe to reckon. In these circumstances it is probable that he was more desirous of finding a loophole for escape from the dilemma, than of attempting to reform the tariff. Peel was able to assure the queen that neither Stanley nor Buccleuch had any wish to reconstitute the government on protectionist lines, and he gave Russell a promise of general support, but declined to commit himself to the approval of any specific measure, declaring that he could do far more to promote the success of a bill if left in a position of independence. This assurance did not give the whig leader the opportunity of escape he probably desired, and on December 18 the queen was informed of his readiness to form a government. His policy was to be one of immediate repeal. But insuperable difficulties arose at the eleventh hour. There was a strong feeling amongst certain of Lord John's friends that Palmerston should not be given the post of foreign secretary. Lord Grey, in particular, refused point blank to join any administration in which Palmerston filled that office.[1]

[1] The documents bearing on this episode were published by Mr. J. R. Thursfield in the *English Historical Review*, vol. i., 105 *seq.*; and in Sir Spencer Walpole's *Life of Lord John Russell*, i., 411-19.

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As was doubtless anticipated, Palmerston flatly declined to take any other position, and Russell wrote to the queen declaring his inability to form a government.

Peel had received the queen's summons to a farewell interview at Osborne, her seaside residence in the Isle of Wight, on December 20. He returned to town, invested for the third time with the office of first minister, and announced to his late colleagues that he was resolved to meet parliament. Stanley persevered in the intention to resign immediately; Wellington reiterated his dictum about carrying on the queen's government regardless of individual opinions; and the Duke of Buccleuch receded from his former position of inflexible determination by taking time to consider. Two days later he wrote to Peel expressing himself as finally converted to the view that repeal had become necessary; and with Gladstone in Stanley's place as secretary of state for the colonies the difficulties of reconstruction vanished.

The interval between Peel's resumption of office and the meeting of parliament for the new session was spent by the cabinet in considering and drafting the measures it was proposed to introduce. Peel was afterwards condemned in strong terms for having omitted to call a general meeting of the conservative party, in which he could have taken the supporters of the government into his confidence. Many believed that if he had adopted this course the revolt of the protectionist wing might have been mitigated, if not altogether prevented. It would at least, it was urged, have allayed much of the bitterness of feeling which was afterwards developed under the impression that the prime minister had deliberately betrayed the country interest. Peel has himself furnished a reply to this accusation in his *Memoirs*. He declares that there was no period, between the commencement of the potato scarcity and the resignation of December 5, when, in his opinion, it would have been proper to communicate to his followers the change which had taken place in his views with regard to the policy of maintaining the corn laws. Later on, when the ministerial crisis was at an end, he considered that it would only have given offence, if he had called together the supporters of the government in order to communicate to them facts already notorious to the whole world. He there-

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fore thought it best to reserve the full explanation for the meeting of parliament.

With these elements of discord in the political atmosphere the new session opened on January 22, 1846. The queen's speech contained merely the announcement that legislation would be proposed to apply more extensively the principles of repealing prohibitive and relaxing protective duties. Everybody was anxious for the explicit declaration of the government's intentions that was awaited from the first minister. Directly after the moving and seconding of the address, in a crowded and keenly expectant house, Peel rose to make his statement. His speech proved a great disappointment. There was not a word in it either of that piquant interest which many had been led to anticipate, or of a nature calculated to throw light upon the measures by which the government intended to meet the economic crisis. The prime minister was followed by Lord John Russell, who had nothing more exciting to supply than a tedious exposition of his failure to form a whig administration. It seemed for the moment as if Peel were about to have it all his own way. Here, after what appeared to many to be the most stupendous act of political tergiversation on record, was the house of commons settling down without a murmur or a protest in calm acceptance of the situation. But it was roused out of its acquiescence by the brilliant free-lance of the conservatives, who had shown himself so bitter an opponent of the leader of his party. Disraeli saw his opportunity and seized it with daring promptitude. He has himself given a description of the manner in which the latent discontent of the protectionists was suddenly fanned into an angry flame.[1] "It was the long-constrained passion of the house that now found a vent, far more than the sallies of the speaker that changed the frigid silence of the senate into excitement and tumult."

There is no doubt that Disraeli had carefully prepared himself for the great chance which at last offered itself to his ambition. For two sessions he had been in open rebellion. The attack upon Peel, delivered on what threatened to be the tame and eventless first night of the new session, made him the

[1] *Life of Lord George Bentinck*, p. 39.

spokesman and the virtual, though unacknowledged, leader of the protectionists. He was far too discerning to attempt to set himself up openly as the captain of the revolt. He knew the mind and character of the tory squires too well to make such an initial blunder, and contented himself during the whole of the fight between the two economic interests with being the voice behind the throne. The nominal leadership of the dissentients devolved upon Lord George Bentinck, a typical country gentleman who was a great deal better known for his successes on the turf than in the senate. Lord George Bentinck was a man of great application and industry, if of second-rate ability. He furnished, in fact, precisely the type of personality from behind which Disraeli, with his consummate tact and adroitness, was enabled to play the real part of leader under the guise of adviser and friend.

But for Disraeli's initiative on the night of January 22, it is doubtful whether Lord George Bentinck and his friends would ever have attacked the prime minister with the relentless energy which, if it failed in its immediate purpose of blocking the corn bill altogether, yet succeeded in driving its author out of office and in breaking up the great party Peel had successfully piloted through so many rocks and shoals on former occasions. This was the famous occasion when Disraeli compared Peel's apostasy to the behaviour of the Turkish admiral who steered the sultan's fleet straight into the enemy's port, defending his conduct on the plea that he was an enemy to war, that he hated a prolonged contest, and that he had terminated it by deserting the cause of his master.[1] Nor did Disraeli rely upon the personal argument alone. He set forth the case against free trade on political and social, as well as economic, grounds with comprehensive breadth of view and all the earnestness of serious conviction. Only those will call these speeches flippant who have not read them. But no doubt many of the protectionists in parliament were more impressed by the attack upon Peel than by arguments based on principles and experience. Disraeli stirred up the spirit of revolt by laying stress upon the fact that the prime minister had betrayed the country interest. A highly illustrative remark was once made by Lord George

[1] T. E. Kebbel, *Selected Speeches of the Earl of Beaconsfield*, i., 100.

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Bentinck when walking away from the house of commons in company with a member of the league. The free trader expressed his wonder that Lord George should fear any evil from the removal of the duty. "Well," was the rejoinder, "I keep horses in three counties, and they tell me that I shall save fifteen hundred a year by free trade. I don't care for that. What I cannot bear is being sold."[1]

On January 27 the prime minister gave a further explanation of his proposals. The duties on tallow and timber, the only two articles of raw material still subject to taxation, were to be materially reduced. In return for free access to raw material, manufacturers were asked to give up part of the protection they enjoyed. The coarser cotton, woollen, and linen goods were to be admitted free, while the duty on made-up articles was to be reduced from 20 to 10 per cent. Silk would carry a uniform duty of not more than 30 per cent. The duties on paperhangings, metal manufactures, carriages, and other articles were to be substantially reduced. In the case of sugar, 3s. 6d. was to be deducted from the differential duty in favour of the colonies. Peel was ingeniously representing his new proposals as natural developments of the budgets of 1842 and 1845. The farmers were to benefit by the importation of seeds at the maximum of 5s. 5d. per cwt.; maize was to come in duty free. But the agricultural interests were asked in return to consent to large reductions of duty on butter, cheese, and hops, and the immediate abolition of all duties on food whether animal or vegetable, as distinguished from grain. "I believe," said Peel, "that in this respect the agriculturists need not fear any competition, nor do I think that they can reasonably complain of such a proposition, inasmuch as they must see that I have dealt with manufactures on the same principle as I have just proposed to deal with agricultural produce." Thus Peel led up to his contemplated alteration of the corn laws. After rejecting the idea of their immediate repeal, he argued that the duties should continue on a modified sliding scale for three years, and that after February 1, 1849, oats, barley, and wheat should be admitted at the nominal duty of 1s. During the interval the maximum duty would be 10s. when the price of

[1] Morley, *Life of Cobden*, p. 358.

wheat was under 54s. a quarter, and the minimum 4s., instead of 16s., whenever the price exceeded 53s.

At the close of his speech, Peel came to the alleviations by which he hoped to diminish the burdens on agriculture. The high-way rates were to be reduced by the union of parishes into districts, whereby 600 local authorities would be substituted for the 16,000 then existing. The law of settlement would be altered to prevent the manufacturing districts from thrusting back applicants for poor law relief on the rural parishes: after five years' residence a man could not be removed, nor could his wife and children be separated from him. Further, loans were to be advanced by the state, after investigation by the commissioners of enclosures, for the purpose of drainage and other agricultural improvements. The maintenance of prisoners, estimated at £64,000, and the cost of prosecutions, amounting to about £100,000, would be taken off the counties and thrown on the consolidated fund. The treasury would also contribute towards the payment for medical relief, the salaries of the masters and mistresses in pauper schools and those of the auditors of unions. These concessions failed to satisfy the protectionists, but criticism was practically withheld until February 9, when the debate on Peel's resolutions began.

During the interval the protectionists organised themselves into a party, and discussed the tactics to be pursued in the house of commons. Under the guidance of Disraeli they proceeded to the task of arranging parliamentary obstruction —a science then in its infancy. Their initial plan of campaign was to prolong the debate, on the motion for the house to go into committee on Peel's resolutions. They held it of great importance that the example of a substantial resistance should be set the protectionists in the country on the threshold of the struggle in parliament, in order to encourage them to agitate on their own account, and thus to lend additional weight and gravity to the movement. Certain by-elections were impending that promised to add to their strength in the commons, and it was essential on this account to put off the division for a few days. Events favoured their design beyond expectation. They hoped to pass a week in opposing this elementary stage of the government measure; but the discussion on the amend-

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ment put forward by the protectionists with this object in view was carried on for the space of three full weeks, calling forth not only the best debating power in the house of commons, but impelling many who rarely addressed that assembly to take an unaccustomed part in its proceedings. In the course of the debate the protectionists made an unlucky mistake. Prince Albert, anxious to witness a stirring episode in parliamentary history, attended the sitting on January 27, and listened to the prime minister's exposition of his fiscal policy. His presence was made the occasion of a heated attack by Lord George Bentinck and his friends, who accused the government of having induced the sovereign in this way to offer unconstitutional support to their measure. We have it on the authority of Disraeli himself that Lord George actually contemplated calling the attention of the speaker to the prince's presence, and was only dissuaded from taking such an unwarrantable course by the timely intervention of a friend.[1] The incident, in whatever light it may appear to the cooler judgment of posterity, exhibits the extent to which Disraeli had succeeded in stirring up the bitter animosity of the tory squires.

Matter irrelevant to the real merits of the case inevitably occupied a considerable portion of the corn law debates. Country gentleman after country gentleman rose to denounce Peel for what he regarded as his betrayal of the conservative party, and his disingenuousness in forcing such far-reaching changes on the country without resorting to a dissolution. On the second point they met a formidable controversialist in Cobden who, in his only important contribution to the discussion, challenged them to go to the constituencies or even to hold a single public and open meeting anywhere in the land. The reality of the Irish famine was doubted and even derided. "Never," said Bentinck, "was there a change of so extensive a character proposed on so slender a basis, and with so little just cause shown." He would not have objected to open the ports had that been necessary, but he could not see how the crisis alleged to be impending could be met by free trade in corn three years later. Peel had, of course, prepared separate measures for dealing with the distress in Ireland,[2] and, as

[1] *Life of Lord George Bentinck*, p. 66.

[2] See below, chap. iv.

his speeches proved, was looking forward rather to meeting the wants of the rapidly expanding population in England. He had refrained from immediate repeal, a question which when raised by Villiers was defeated by 187 votes, because he wished to mitigate the alarm of the agricultural interest, and to ease the passage of his bill.

On the general question of free trade as against protection, Peel, more cautious than Cobden, declined to give the house a guarantee that foreign states would follow the example of England and reduce their tariffs. He had resolved to consult British interests alone, and not to punish other nations and ourselves by continuing high duties. He was, however, convinced that the example would ultimately be followed by foreign countries, and that reason and the common interest of the people and the government in those countries would produce a relaxation of hostile tariffs. For the present, accepting a challenge thrown out by Disraeli, he undertook to fight hostile tariffs with free imports. Peel and Graham appealed to the lessons taught by the reductions of the tariff. In every instance they had been followed by an increase of output and a consequent increase of employment. Their statistics were traversed by Bentinck, who boldly attempted to prove that the country had prospered more under high, than under modified protection. Sir George Clerk, vice-president of the board of trade, retorted that Bentinck had quoted the most favourable figures for the former state of affairs and the most damaging for the latter. Advocates were not wanting, nevertheless, for the continued protection of the Spitalfields weavers against their French rivals, of London coachbuilders against Belgian. The Canadian timber trade, exclaimed one member, would be ruined by the competition of the Baltic. How long, asked another, would the political tie continue if the colonies ceased to be connected with the mother-country by a commercial bond, and were free to collect their own customs? To preserve the connexion Lord John Manners advocated the importation of Indian and colonial corn duty free.

Peel's mercantile proposals did not provoke such intensity of opposition as the contemplated abolition of the corn laws. The change, said the protectionists, would bring about nothing less than the ruin of the agricultural interest. They asserted

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that it was not so much a landlords' as a tenant-farmers' question. One member gave a description of the immense resources of the United States in the extensive valleys and boundless prairies of the Mississippi, and of Russia in her northern and southern provinces. As soon as British markets should be thrown open to the world those fertile plains would be tilled and our arable lands would go out of cultivation. The Marquis of Granby and others contended that the working classes would not in the end be gainers by cheap food. The question was, would they be able to buy and eat more bread? Granby feared that they would not, for when subsistence was cheap labour was cheap also, and the condition of the population most miserable. Sidney Herbert maintained, on the contrary, that the agricultural interest, powerful though it was, had no right to expect exceptional treatment, and urged the farmers to meet foreign competition by improved methods of cultivation. The most cogent argument on the free trade side was that advanced by Peel and Graham: that cheap food for the people had become a national necessity. They both pointed to the experience of 1842, a year, said Graham, of the greatest danger. It was a time of high prices and scarcity, and the danger arose from the want of the means of subsistence among the working classes. The abolition of the duties alone could render the law certain, give steadiness to prices, and rid the landed interest of the reproach which had been often cast upon it, of wringing from the poor for their own advantage a paltry increase of rent. Peel added the solemn warning: "It seems to be incident to great prosperity that there shall be a reverse; that times of depression shall follow the season of excitement and success". After Russell had expressed his preference for immediate repeal, the whigs were content, for the most part, to relinquish the debate to the warring sections of the conservative party

The division on the amendment proposed by the protectionists revealed the mutineers to be in unexpected strength. The minority numbered 240—the government carrying their motion for the introduction of the resolutions by 97 votes. The protectionists determined to persevere with their opposition to the end. Further encouragement was afforded them by the reflection that those who had supported Peel in

the first division had not necessarily committed themselves to his proposals. Some were known to be against the total repeal of the corn laws, whilst others held the view that the relaxation of the existing duties on imported grain should be spread over a great number of years. Their votes had been given, not for the principle of free trade, but merely to signify their assent to the consideration in committee of the measure to be brought forward by the government. When the house went into committee on the resolutions which formed the basis of the corn law bill on March 2, the protectionists disputed every point which gave an opening for invective or argument. The second reading of the bill was taken on the 20th. By this time six weeks' incessant talk on one subject had exhausted the house of commons, and the protectionists only found themselves able to prolong the debate on this occasion for four successive nights, which was, after all, no mean feat. Consolation was found in the fact that the government majority dropped to 88. A feature of the discussion was Palmerston's speech in favour of a fixed duty. It was regarded as a subtle bid for support from more than one quarter of the house, in view of possible developments in the future.

Disraeli quickly found an effective weapon to turn against the government. The growing scarcity of food in Ireland was producing political as well as economic effects. During the last few months there had been a fresh outbreak of agrarian outrages. As usual, there seemed only one way of coping with violence and disorder in Ireland. This plan was resorted to by Peel's government for the eighteenth time since the Union. Whilst, therefore, slow but sure progress was being made with the fiscal revolution in the commons, Lord St. Germans, a former Irish secretary, introduced a coercion bill into the house of lords. It empowered the Irish government to proclaim counties or districts, and to appoint additional magistrates and police in them at the local expense. Within the proclaimed areas victims of outrages were to be compensated by the ratepayers. Under a "curfew" clause persons abroad after dark were liable to transportation for a period not exceeding fifteen years. Disraeli was not slow in perceiving the subtle possibilities to which the political situation gave rise. Both the government measures were of first-rate importance. If one

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were pushed forward, it would have to be at the expense of the other. He endeavoured to persuade his friends, when they met to consider their attitude towards the coercion bill, that they would commit a blunder in pledging themselves to support it.

The opportunity was strikingly favourable. O'Connell and the rest of the Irish members would naturally be eager to oppose the bill by every available means; Cobden and his friends regarded any repressive measure with equal aversion; whilst the whigs, although bound to support a coercion bill in principle, might easily find a pretext for helping to accomplish the overthrow of the government. At the meeting of the protectionists, however, held at the end of March for the purpose of deciding on a course of action, Bentinck and others came to the conclusion that a judicious support given to the coercion bill would help to delay the measure for repealing the corn laws. Some attempt to negotiate with the government to this end was made; but nothing came of it beyond a heated scene in the house of commons. Peel was determined to get on with both bills, and he repudiated any step calculated to delay one or the other of his schemes. Matters came to a crisis on March 30, when with the aid of the protectionists the government proceeded with the first reading of the coercion bill in the commons. Any idea of sending the corn law bill to the house of lords before Easter was now abandoned altogether. But the other bill fared no better. Endless adjournments were secured by the Irish members; the debate—during the course of which O'Connell delivered his last speech in parliament—was continued, to the exclusion of everything else of importance, after the Easter holidays; and it was not until May 1 that the division on the first reading was allowed to take place.

The free traders were almost in despair. "It happens most unluckily," wrote Cobden to his wife, "that the government has forced on the coercion bill to the exclusion of corn, for owing to the pertinacious delay thrown in the way of its passing by the Irish members, I don't expect it will be read the first time before Easter, and as for corn there is no chance of hearing of it again till after the holidays. I wish to God we were out of the mess." It was not until the 4th that the motion

was taken for the house to go into committee on the corn law bill. The protectionists did all they could to obstruct; but the end was already in sight. The government stuck to their measure, and after continuous sittings the bill passed the third reading, on May 15, by a majority of 98. The leaguers now breathed more freely, and Cobden was overwhelmed with congratulations. There was still the possibility to be faced that the lords might endeavour to effect some compromise on the bill, and force Peel either to accept the principle of a fixed duty, or to maintain the existing duties for an indefinite period. It was also feared that the situation created in the commons by the pushing forward of the two measures might encourage the lords to delay passing the corn law bill. These fears, however, proved groundless. On the 28th the lords passed the second reading by the unexpected majority of 47.

It was impossible for the tory insurgents to prevent the triumph of free trade; there remained the possibility of avenging the reverse by driving Peel out of office. Once more Disraeli's fertile brain rose to the emergency. He saw that the one chance of defeating the government lay in the coercion bill, and the only political combination capable of achieving this result was that of the whigs and the protectionists. Both sections had voted for the first reading of the coercion bill; but a reasonable excuse was found for turning support of the bill into opposition. The desire to destroy Peel and the government was there; it only needed the subtle suggestion that the urgency of the coercive measure had been disproved by the manner in which it had been shelved to make way for the corn bill to quiet the consciences of both the protectionist group and the liberals. The coercion bill had been sent down to the commons by the house of lords on March 13; it was not until May 1 that the first reading had taken place; and in the interval the government had entirely devoted their efforts to getting on with the corn bill. That was the indictment brought against Peel by his own malcontent wing; and it was re-echoed by Russell from the front opposition bench.

Peel fully realised what the immediate future had in store. He had no illusions as to the strength of the combination he now saw arrayed against him. On June 21, he regarded the two bills as being in such a position that he had every reason

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to "calculate on the double event—the passing of the first bill unmutilated by the house of lords, and the rejection of the second by the house of commons". In a memorandum of that date addressed to the cabinet, he advised resignation rather than dissolution in the event anticipated. Four days later the catastrophe occurred. On the night of the 25th, the house of lords passed the corn bill, chiefly through the influence of Wellington, despite the protectionist ardour of the Duke of Richmond and Stanley; whilst in the commons the critical division on the coercion bill took place. Defeat for the government was certain; but the voting that night gave rise to the liveliest curiosity. Cobden found himself in the peculiar position of assisting to destroy the ministry that had just conferred upon the people of the United Kingdom what he had always regarded as the greatest conceivable blessing. His vote against the Irish bill was preceded by an ample and whole-hearted recognition of Peel's services to the country in repealing the corn duties. Of the protectionist vote Disraeli has given a well-remembered description in which the fallen minister is pictured as regarding with emotion the passing of the aristocratic flower of the tory party, "the Manners, the Somersets, the Bentincks, the Lowthers, and the Lennoxes" into the opposition lobby. "'They say we are beaten by 73,' whispered the most important member of the cabinet in a tone of surprise to Sir Robert Peel. Sir Robert did not reply or even turn his head. He looked very grave, and extended his chin, as was his habit when he was annoyed and cared not to speak. He began to comprehend his position, and that the emperor was without his army."[1]

Peel at once went to Windsor and gave up the seals of office; and on the 29th he announced the resignation of the government to the house of commons. His speech on that occasion contained the historic tribute to Cobden which deeply irritated some of his own friends. "There is a name," he said, "that ought to be associated with the success of these measures; it is not the name of Lord John Russell, neither is it my name. Sir, the name which ought to be, and will be, associated with these measures is the name of a man who, acting from pure and

[1] *Life of Lord George Bentinck*, pp. 299-301

disinterested motives, has advocated their cause with untiring energy, and by appeals to reason expressed by an eloquence the more to be admired because it was unaffected and unadorned—the name which ought to be associated with the success of these measures is the name of Richard Cobden." It was thought that Peel went too far when he ostentatiously eulogised a politician who had shown himself persistently hostile to the landlord class, and whose energy in support of free trade was supposed to be largely stimulated by his desire to transfer the powers of that class to the manufacturers;[1] and it was believed by many that the fallen minister had thus gone out of his way to put another obstacle against his resumption of the conservative leadership.

Yet even during the few years which intervened between the "great betrayal" and his own death, the bitterness of his old associates had softened, and those who still exclaimed against the repeal of the corn laws were only a small and diminishing remnant. The sequel to this fundamental change in national policy was as singular as its history. It was unquestionably true, as Disraeli asserted with scathing iteration, that Peel had come into office with no mandate from the constituencies to establish free trade; for on that issue the constituencies had never been directly consulted, and they had indeed placed Peel in power in 1841 as a moderate supporter of the existing system. The league had converted Lancashire and the manufacturing interest elsewhere; that it had converted the nation as a whole, was never tested and never proved. But the *ex post facto* conversion lacked nothing of completeness; for the removal of the restrictive tariff occurred during a period of expanding commerce and rapidly increasing productivity. The advance had set in before Peel's final breach with protection and was in full momentum by the autumn of 1845. In the three preceding years the foreign trade of the country had increased 25 per cent., and the value of the exports had risen from £47,250,000 to over £60,000,000. Wages were higher, and the demand for labour in the manufacturing centres exceeded the supply; while the scarcity and dearness

[1] See the peroration of Disraeli's speech of February 20, 1846, in *Selected Speeches of Lord Beaconsfield*, i., 111.

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of food, which furnished the early leaguers with the most potent weapons in their armoury, had largely been alleviated even before the opening of the ports. Sir James Graham, in the course of the corn law debates, declared that beef in the past three years had fallen from 7d. to 5 d. a lb., mutton from 7d. to 6d., and flour from 10½d. to 8½d. a quartern. The great material progress of these and the succeeding years was due to causes more efficient than legislation, to the improvement in machinery and mechanical methods, and above all to the extension of the means of communication. In the four years ending with 1845, the average annual amount of capital authorised to be expended on the construction of railways exceeded £21,000,000 sterling; between 1843 and 1848 the capitalisation of the railways was more than trebled.

Thus was Great Britain admirably equipped to take full advantage of the industrial development which grew to colossal proportions during the next two decades. The nation, carried upon a swelling tide of prosperity, was well content to acquiesce in the fiscal arrangements, which offered no impediment to the flow of the fertilising stream and was by many deemed to be its source. It was in the fitness of things that the powerful levers of cheap raw materials and cheap food should be placed in the hands of the mercantile community by the statesman who had most closely studied its interests. Peel was essentially the minister of the business classes. He represented them better even than Pitt or Canning, better than Grey or Russell or any of the aristocratic whigs, better than Gladstone or Disraeli. By his financial, his administrative, and finally by his fiscal reforms, Peel smoothed the way for that victorious commercialism, which for at least a generation made Great Britain the mart, the *entrepôt*, the banking centre, and the ocean carrier of the world.

There was another circumstance which helps to explain the comparative ease with which the economic revolution was consummated, and the tranquil tolerance with which it was accepted by the bulk of the nation. The battle of free trade had been won in the intellectual sphere long before it was fought out in the political arena. It seemed the natural sequence to those doctrines of freedom of contract and liberty of action which had dominated English thought since the end of the

eighteenth century. In an age in which *laisser faire* was apt to be regarded with the respect due to an established rule of science, it appeared easy and natural to attack the maintenance of barriers against unrestricted commercial intercourse.[1] Free trade, even by many of those whose sympathies or whose interests were opposed to it, was received as an inevitable step in the process of emancipating the individual from the fetters assumed to have been artificially riveted upon him by the misused authority of society and the state.

[1] Nor was this merely the case in England. On the continent cultured opinion ran the same way. F. List in his *National System of Political Economy* (published in 1843) is constantly attacking the economic doctrine then "fashionable" in Germany, which was based on an almost unquestioning acceptance of the theories laid down by Adam Smith.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LAST WHIG MINISTRY.

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THE fall of Peel left the party system in a confused and disorganised state. Compact body though they were, the whigs were far from commanding a majority, and Russell, who undertook to form a government, relied for its maintenance on the divisions of the conservatives. The idea of making overtures to the protectionists having been abandoned, he invited three of the younger members of the Peel cabinet, Lord Dalhousie, Sidney Herbert, and Lord Lincoln, to join him, but they all declined. His negotiations with the radicals were perfunctory, and he was probably by no means sorry that Cobden happened at that moment to be ineligible for high office because his private embarrassments had induced him to accept a national testimonial from his admirers. Finally he constructed his administration on a narrow whig basis. Palmerston, who acted with the whigs though he was never of them, resumed the foreign office, and Grey, suppressing his objections to that statesman's adventurous policy, became colonial secretary. Lansdowne was president of the council and leader of the house of lords; Sir Charles Wood, chancellor of the exchequer; Labouchere entered the cabinet as Irish secretary; the lord-lieutenant was the Earl of Bessborough, known earlier as Lord Duncannon.

Before parliament rose on August 28 Russell effected a comprehensive adjustment of the sugar duties. Hitherto they had been arranged on the principle of protecting the West India planters against the foreign producers of sugar, especially those who employed slave labour. The prime minister argued, with much force, that it was irrational to prohibit the sugar of countries whose cotton and tobacco were readily accepted. At the

same time he admitted the objections urged by the West India interest against an immediate equalisation of the duties. He proposed, therefore, that the duties on slave-grown and foreign sugar should be reduced at once to twenty-one shillings, and then descend in the course of five years to the fourteen shillings paid on sugar imported from the colonies. A similar reduction would be applied to refined sugar, double-refined sugar, and molasses. Russell's proposals were hotly resisted by protectionists like Bentinck and by humanitarians like Inglis. But Peel declined to be a party to the overthrow of the new government, and Bentinck and his friends found themselves in a minority of 130.

The ministry was not equally fortunate with its Irish measures. In deference to Bessborough, but to the indignation of the radicals who had helped to defeat Peel, an arms bill was introduced, only to be weakly withdrawn. At the same time Russell had to announce that the prospect of the potato crop was even more distressing than in the previous year; the disease had appeared earlier and its ravages were far more extensive. The government prepared to meet the crisis with praiseworthy energy, but their conceptions were subservient to the rigid rules of what was regarded as scientific economics. Confronted by famine, ministers expatiated in all sincerity on the dangers of interfering with private enterprise, whether in the distribution of food or the improvement of agriculture. The results were that destitute persons starved to death within sight of the government depots, and that public funds were wasted on the making of superfluous roads, which were never finished, and the levelling of innocuous hills. Russell's labour rate bill, as it was commonly called, attempted to check the abuses which had sprung up in connexion with Peel's measures of relief. His predecessor had relied chiefly upon public works, the cost of which was to be divided eventually between the locality and the state. The terms had unfortunately been so easy that the landowners made a rush upon the fund. To check their exorbitant demands, Russell determined that the works should be paid for by loans advanced from the exchequer at a low rate of interest, but eventually repaid by the locality. The relief committees, instead of giving tickets requiring employment, had to furnish lists of persons

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requiring relief which were carefully revised by officers of the board of works. It was also decided that the wages should be somewhat below the rate in the district, and that those employed should, as far as possible, be paid by the job.[1]

Excellent though these arrangements may have been in theory, they failed in practice, chiefly through the easy-going incompetence or the corruption of the relief committees. The fatal fascination of money payments drew the peasants from the fields and brought agriculture to a standstill. Farmers dismissed their labourers and packed them off to the works. The numbers employed rose from 100,000 in October to 600,000 in January, and in March to the huge total of 734,000, equivalent, if the average number of each family was taken, to 3,000,000 persons in receipt of relief. The government had no means of controlling so vast an amount of labour. The attempt to exact task work ended in riots; the men blocked, and even destroyed, the works on which they professed to be engaged. When the futility of most of the undertakings, even as tests of destitution, had been demonstrated, so loud did the cry become for the diversion of the funds advanced under the labour rate act to "reproductive works," that the government yielded to it. On October 5 presentments were authorised for the drainage and subsoiling of the estates of private owners, provided they consented to their properties being charged with the repayment of the sums advanced. As the largest number of persons thus employed at any one time was only 26,000, the plan proved a palliative, not a cure.

So high stood the price of provisions that, in the case of large families, the wages of those employed on the relief works were sometimes insufficient to support existence. But there were multitudes, consisting of the most helpless and remote classes of the population, whom the public money never reached at all. The government depots, established in the destitute west of Ireland, were not to be opened while food could be supplied at reasonable prices by private dealers. Such a regulation might have answered with a community which subsisted on the wages of industry. The cottiers, unfortunately, were accustomed to grow their own food, and, when the potato

[1] *Parl. Debates*, August 17, 1846, lxxxviii., 766-78.

failed, they had no resource left them. In the last weeks of 1846 attention was drawn to the appalling condition of Skibbereen in a letter addressed by a local magistrate to the Duke of Wellington. The feelings of the charitable were stirred by this and other stories of suffering patiently endured. By hurrying over supplies of food, clothing, and medicine, voluntary relief committees mitigated, and by-and-by arrested altogether, the devastations of the famine and of the diseases which stalked in its train. Fever and dysentery unhappily accompanied the emigrants who swarmed into England and across the Atlantic. On board the ships sailing to Canada more than 17 per cent. died at sea. Between 1845 and 1853 the Irish population declined by over 2,000,000, chiefly through emigration, but partly through famine and disease.

Confronted at the beginning of 1847 by "a famine of the thirteenth century acting upon a population of the nineteenth," Russell courageously brought forward numerous measures, some of a temporary, others of a permanent character. As the system of relief by public works had evidently broken down, he resolved to discontinue it. The numbers employed were rapidly reduced in April and onwards, and on August 15 the labour rate act expired. Its administration had cost the country £4,850,000. The alternative adopted was an act for the temporary relief of destitute persons in Ireland, which, zealously pressed forward, became law before the end of February. Under it a central commission was established in Dublin with Sir John Burgoyne as its chairman, and finance committees were appointed to control the expenditure of each union. The relief committees were remodelled, and consisted in each poor law electoral division of the magistrates, one clergyman of each persuasion, the poor law guardian, and the three wealthiest ratepayers. They were empowered to levy rates, which were reinforced by government loans. Free grants were made in aid of the rates of the poorest unions, and when private subscriptions were raised, donations were made to an equal amount.[1] The rations provided from these sources were cooked mostly in the form of "stirabout," made of Indian meal and rice. Though Burgoyne complained to his friends of supineness and

[1] *Parl. Debates*, January 25, 1847, lxxxix., 426-51.

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jobbery,[1] this second attempt to feed the people "out of the hands of the magistrate" was, on the whole, successful. In July over 3,000,000 persons were receiving rations, and at the season of harvest the multitude was gradually and quietly thrown upon its own resources. The sum actually spent was only £1,557,212.

One of Russell's temporary expedients failed through the impecuniosity and lethargy of the Irish landowners. The sum of £50,000 was made available on loan for the purchase of seed, but no applicants came forward. A subvention of the same amount for the promotion of works of "acknowledged utility"—the state providing one-half on loan and those interested the other half in cash—had also to be diverted to piers and bridges because of the ineffectiveness of private enterprise. But the central board of health, composed of the leading Dublin physicians, energetically supervised the suppression of epidemics by the drainage and white-washing of cottages and the erection of temporary hospitals and dispensaries. Russell's permanent measures embraced an improved drainage bill, a bill for the reclamation of waste lands, and radical alterations in the Irish poor law. The first measure, which consolidated and extended previous legislation, became law after little debate. The second was an ambitious scheme by which a million was to be devoted to the bringing of waste lands under cultivation and their subsequent purchase, while the commissioners of woods and forests were to be empowered to buy out a landlord who refused to improve or to sell his barren acres. But the boldness of the idea alarmed Russell's colleagues, and on Peel's advice the bill was withdrawn.

The poor law bill was necessitated by the utter failure of the Irish workhouses to cope with the existing destitution. It established out-door relief for the infirm on the English model, the house being retained as a test for the able-bodied. Until sufficient accommodation had been provided, the latter class could receive assistance in kind. A clause brought forward by Gregory, member for the city of Dublin, facilitated the emigration of tenants rated at a net value not exceeding £5. Rightly or wrongly, it was unpopular in Ireland, since it was attributed to

[1] Wrottesley, *Life and Correspondence of Sir John Burgoyne*, i., 461.

the desire of the landlords to clear their estates of superfluous tenants. Even more disliked was another amendment, also introduced by Gregory, excluding from the benefits of the bill all occupiers holding land of more than a quarter of an acre. The new poor law commission, established independently of the English department,[1] went vigorously to work. Unused stores were hired and wooden sheds built for the paupers as emergency accommodation. After the critical year 1848 had passed—a year saddened by a recrudescence of famine, fever, and a cholera epidemic as well—the commissioners could congratulate themselves on a progressive decline of pauperism.[2]

Bentinck, who had played an active and able part in the Irish debates, produced on February 11 a plan "for the prompt and profitable employment of the people on the railroads of Ireland". Having taken counsel with Robert Stephenson and with Hudson, the railway projector, he proposed that the government should come to the aid of the railway companies. For every £100 spent by them, £200 would be lent by the government at the same interest at which it borrowed the money. Sixteen millions sterling were to be thus spent, the loan being spread over four years; and Bentinck quoted traffic returns to show that the state would be secure against loss.[3] Bentinck met with uncompromising opposition from Russell and Peel. The former argued that the plan was useless as a remedy for Irish distress, since the lines would avoid the poorest districts, and he gave it as a generally acknowledged fact that in the construction of railways only 25 per cent. of the money went to the wages of labour—a contention which Hudson denied. Peel dwelt rather on the danger of entering into public engagements of such a formidable amount when a deficit of £7,000,000 had already to be made good. The knowledge that the government would resign if Bentinck carried the second reading of his bill had its effect on the division, and in a house of 450 he only had the support of 118 votes. Before three months were over, the government, with some inconsistency,

[1] By the act passed on July 22, 1847.

[2] The reports of the Irish poor law commission between 1847 and 1852 are to be found in W. P. O'Brien, *The Great Famine*, ch. xi.

[3] *Parl. Debates*, February 14, lxxxix., 774-802; and Disraeli, *Life of Lord George Bentinck*, pp. 372-97.

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revived the plan in a restricted form by granting a sum of £620,000 as a loan to three Irish railways. The outlay on Ireland had inevitably told on the finances of the United Kingdom. The total cost of the famine was estimated at £8,000,000, and ultimately came to £7,132,000. The depressed condition of trade deterred the chancellor of the exchequer from imposing fresh taxation. He raised, instead, the necessary amount by loan at 3½ per cent., and the interest on the new debt absorbed the greater part of his surplus.

The parliament of 1841, now in the sixth year of its existence, was dissolved in July, 1847. The general election of the following month was lethargic, and left the numerical strength of the various parties practically unaltered. So far as it went, the verdict passed by the country on the Irish policy of the government was one of approval.

A monetary crisis and the disturbed condition of Ireland rendered it desirable to call the new parliament together on November 19. The first of these two disasters had been chiefly caused by the railway mania, as it was popularly called. In 1845 the companies proposed to raise no less than £700,000,000; there was a general rage for speculation in shares, and the governor of the Bank of England warned Greville that "there could not fail to be a fearful reaction".[1] Two years later the collapse occurred, and it was aggravated by a sudden fall in the price of corn and by dulness in the market for manufactures. Ruin was everywhere; speculative stocks became actually unsaleable; and on October 1 the bank declined to make any further loans. Consols fell to 78. On the 25th Russell and Wood, with the approval of Peel,[2] authorised the directors of the bank to "enlarge the amounts of their discounts and advances upon approved security," promising to lay a bill of indemnity before parliament if the law was infringed with regard to the issue of paper. The removal of the restraints imposed by the bank charter act was, however, in itself sufficient to restore confidence, and the bank refrained from exceeding its powers. The action of the government received the approval of both houses.

In Ireland, Bessborough had been sent to the grave by his

[1] *Greville Memoirs*, v., 306. [2] *Ibid.*, vi., 104.

labours and anxieties, and Lord Clarendon succeeded him. A terrible series of agrarian crimes in the west, the authors of which escaped justice in nearly every instance, soon convinced the new viceroy that the powers at his disposal were insufficient for the preservation of life and the security of property. After an animated correspondence with Russell, in the course of which he complained that he felt as if he were at the head of a provisional government in a half-conquered country, Clarendon persuaded the cabinet to introduce a measure for strengthening his authority.[1] Sir George Grey, the home secretary, who took charge of it, proposed that the lord-lieutenant should be free to proclaim disturbed districts and to increase their police at the cost of the ratepayers. Male persons were to be punished who refused to assist the authorities in the pursuit of murderers. Deprived of O'Connell's eloquence by his recent death,[2] the Irish repealers offered the bill little more than a formal resistance, and the chief criticism directed at it by English members was that it was not strong enough to meet the emergency. In the house of lords, the denunciation of unpopular persons during divine service by certain of the Irish priesthood was strongly condemned, and Cottenham, the lord chancellor, declared that those guilty of such conduct were liable as accessories before the fact.

During these years of famine in Ireland and financial disaster in England, the vigorous diplomacy of Lord Palmerston was an important source of strength to the government. Though he alienated public opinion abroad, his countrymen felt proud of a statesman who upheld the weak against the strong, and constitutional rule against autocracy. Before he had been many weeks in office Palmerston had inadvertently given a fatal blow to the good understanding between England and France which Aberdeen had laboured to preserve. Aberdeen and Guizot had endeavoured for some years to discover eligible marriage alliances for Isabella, the young Queen of Spain, and her sister, the infanta. In 1845, on the occasion of a visit made by Queen Victoria to the Château of Eu, they came to an agreement, subsequently set down in writing, that Isabella should choose

[1] Sir S. Walpole, *Life of Lord J. Russell*, i., 459-71; *Greville Memoirs*, vi., 108.

[2] The "Liberator" died at Genoa, May 15, 1847.

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a husband from the members of the house of Bourbon, and that, after children had been born by her, the infanta should be free to marry the Duc de Montpensier, a younger son of Louis Philippe. Unfortunately none of the Spanish Bourbons was a desirable suitor, and another candidate was in the field in the person of Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, closely connected with the English court, whose claims for the queen's hand were actively pushed by the British minister at Madrid, Sir Henry Bulwer. Louis Philippe's instincts as sovereign and *père de famille* took alarm at this intruder, and, if the alliance with the queen or the infanta became "probable or imminent," Guizot declared that the French court intended to counter the stroke by pressing on Montpensier's marriage with one or other of them.

Thus matters stood when Palmerston returned to the foreign office. He had previously attempted to get on good terms with the French government during a visit to Paris, but Louis Philippe and Guizot continued to regard him with unabated suspicion. Their apprehensions were confirmed when it came to their knowledge that Palmerston had instructed Bulwer to press the candidature of Don Enrique of Bourbon—who was hated by the queen-mother, Cristina, because of his intrigues with the progressist party—for the queen's hand and to "try for" the immediate and apparently secret betrothal of the infanta to Prince Leopold. As "the next best thing" Bulwer was to urge on the marriage of the queen to the Coburg candidate. Louis Philippe and Cristina promptly joined forces against the object of their common detestation. On September 2, 1846, Count Jarnac, the French ambassador, announced to Palmerston the impending marriage of Isabella to the Duke of Cadiz, the elder brother of Don Enrique, an effeminate youth whom she despised, and that of the infanta to Montpensier. On October 10 the two marriages were celebrated on the same day.[1] Palmerston wrote to Jarnac that he would no longer

[1] The story of this tangled affair is impartially told by Lord Stanmore in his *Life of Lord Aberdeen*, pp. 162-73. Bulwer's account in his *Life of Lord Palmerston*, iii., ch. vii. and viii., is a specious defence of his own conduct. The correspondence between Louis Philippe and Guizot was published, after the revolution of 1848, by Taschereau in the *Revue Rétrospective*. It acquits them of downright double-dealing, but convicts the king of pushing the fortunes of his family with grasping pertinacity. Palmerston, on the other hand, being new to

talk about an *entente cordiale*, because the news from Paris showed only too clearly that neither cordiality nor an understanding was desired. Queen Victoria addressed a strongly worded rebuke to the King of the French through his daughter, the Queen of the Belgians.[1] The two powers went their several ways, and thus the Orleanist dynasty lost its only friend in Europe. But England, too, stood isolated, and Palmerston could only resort to an empty protest when Austria, with the full consent of Russia and Prussia, annexed the free city of Cracow, the last remnant of independent Poland in November, 1846. CHAP. IV.

Nevertheless, Palmerston pursued his diplomatic activity, "getting the affairs of Europe into trim," as he called it. His intervention in Portuguese politics was attended with better fortune than his handling of the Spanish marriages. By impartially lecturing the court and opposition junta he put an end to a squalid civil war and to the military rule established at Lisbon by Marshal Saldanha.[2] Meanwhile a crisis of greater moment had occurred in Switzerland. Religious bickerings between the protestants and catholics had come to a head in a bitter quarrel over the presence of the Jesuits in the country. The catholic cantons formed a *Sonderbund* or separatist league. Having secured a majority in the diet, the protestants in 1847 voted this league illegal, and invited the cantons to banish the Jesuits. Dufour was ordered to execute this decision, with permission to employ force if necessary. The *Sonderbund* determined to resist. The crisis much alarmed the powers, and produced the gravest differences of opinion between them. France and Austria sympathised with the *Sonderbund*, and Prussia, though a protestant state, leant to that side on account of its rights over Neuchâtel. Metternich considered that the formation of the *Sonderbund* had in effect dissolved the Confederation, and that it had become the duty of the great powers to intervene. Guizot adroitly divided the question into

office, failed to grasp the bearings of the agreement of Eu and to understand the strength of the objections of the French court to the Coburg candidate.

[1] Martin, *Life of the Prince Consort*, i., 369-73.

[2] *Parliamentary Papers relating to Portugal*, 1847; Bulwer, *Palmerston*, iii., ch. ix.; and *Memoirs of the Duke de Saldanha*, by Count da Carnota, of which an English translation has appeared.

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two parts, suggesting that the religious dispute should be referred to the pope, and that the powers should offer to mediate on questions of general policy with the threat that, if their terms were declined, the Confederation should be declared at an end. But Palmerston stoutly stood up for the neutrality of Switzerland, however incongruously the virtues of non-intervention may have been extolled by him. He declined to regard the Confederation as dissolved, and would only countenance mediation if free from an intent to coerce. This policy was far from palatable to Guizot and still less so to Metternich. However, while the diplomatists were exchanging notes, General Dufour was acting. Fribourg fell to the federal forces on November 13, and Lucerne surrendered on November 24, 1847. After the *Sonderbund* had ceased to exist, all pretext for the interference of the powers in Swiss affairs disappeared.[1]

In Italy the election of a pope who sympathised with liberalism in the person of Pius IX. had given a strong impulse to anti-Austrian and revolutionary feeling. Risking the displeasure of Vienna, the Piedmontese and Tuscan governments imitated the Vatican in tardily making concessions to their subjects. Russell and Palmerston resolved, in spite of the reluctance of the court, to send Lord Minto on a roving mission with the object of giving seasonable advice to reforming princes and politicians.[2] The expedient was happily ridiculed by Disraeli as an attempt "to teach politics in the country where Machiavelli was born" and "to found in Italy a whig party, a sort of Brooks's Club at Florence". It was, in any case, too late. In February, 1848, revolution, always imminent in Italy, raised its head unexpectedly in Paris. The irresolution of Louis Philippe cost him his throne, and a provisional government was established with Lamartine at its head. Ten days afterwards, encouraged by a revolution at Vienna and the downfall of Metternich, the Milanese and Venetians drove out their Austrian garrisons and the King of Sardinia marched to the aid of revolted Lombardy. In the same month the Prince of Prussia, afterwards German Emperor, was forced

[1] *Parliamentary Papers relative to the affairs of Switzerland*, 1847-48; *Mémoires de Metternich*, vii., 482-530.

[2] Martin, *Prince Consort*, i., 428.

to fly from Berlin and betake himself to England. Revolution had swept over the face of Europe like a tornado.

Palmerston revelled in the crisis; the court and his colleagues in vain endeavoured to restrain him. A peremptory lecture on constitutional government, presented by Bulwer at Madrid, so exasperated the Spaniards that the despatch was returned, and, after a heated controversy, the British minister was ordered to quit the country. On the other hand, Palmerston gave judicious support to Lamartine, perceiving that his intentions were pacific, in spite of a circular declaring that the treaties of 1815 had ceased to exist. His advice to Austria was ultimately justified by events, but it fell on deaf ears. It was, in effect, that this power was not strong enough to hold Lombardy and Venetia. The recuperative capacity of Austria proved greater, however, for the moment than Palmerston anticipated. In July, Marshal Radetzky came out of his defences, defeated the Piedmontese and reoccupied Milan. The British government laboured in vain to bring about a conference; the utmost it could effect was the conclusion of an armistice. Meanwhile the queen, whose sympathies were with Austria, complained that the foreign secretary was committing her to steps of which she did not approve. When the Piedmontese rashly renewed the war in the following February, she was much annoyed because Palmerston threw the responsibility of that step on the Austrians. On the occupation of Rome by the French, partly in the interests of the Vatican, partly by way of reply to the Austrian victories, she suspected Palmerston of interference in the internal affairs of the papal states. When final disaster overtook the Piedmontese arms at Novara, it was noticed that the English court wished joy to the Austrian ambassador, but that the foreign secretary would not utter a single word.[1]

Another example of Palmerston's independence came to light in January, 1849, when it was discovered that, having attempted to mediate between the King of Naples and his insurgent subjects, he authorised the ordnance office to

[1] *Greville Memoirs*, vi., 289. The inner history of Palmerston's Italian policy is to be read in Walpole's *Russell*, ii., 38-52, and Evelyn Ashley's *Palmerston*, a continuation of Bulwer's work, i., ch. ii. and iii. See also *Parliamentary Papers relative to the affairs of Italy*, 1848, part ii.

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supply arms to the provisional government of Sicily. This breach of neutrality brought down upon him a mild rebuke from Russell, and the cabinet insisted on an apology. The foreign secretary jauntily signed a public despatch, stating that the arms had been supplied "inadvertently," and that "her majesty's government regret what has occurred," while in the house of commons he disposed of the matter by irrelevant jocularities.

Palmerston was no enemy to Austria, though that power could hardly be expected to take his constant admonitions in good temper. It was in pursuance of his advice, indeed, that the Emperor Ferdinand, a self-effacing personage quite incompetent to cope with revolutions, abdicated on December 2, 1848, and was succeeded by his nephew, Francis Joseph, a youth of eighteen. But Palmerston's remonstrances when the Austrian government accepted Russian aid in suppressing the insurrection in Hungary were hotly resented by Metternich's successor, Prince Schwarzenberg. Fortune threw into Palmerston's way an effective rejoinder. When Kossuth and other Hungarian leaders escaped into Turkish territory, Austria and Russia made simultaneous demands for their surrender; and when the Porte hesitated and prevaricated they broke off diplomatic relations. With Sir Stratford Canning, a strenuous ambassador after his own heart, at Constantinople, Palmerston stiffened the sultan's resolutions, remonstrated with St. Petersburg and Vienna, and finally persuaded the cabinet to order the British fleet to the mouth of the Dardanelles. At the same time a French squadron moved up to Smyrna. Upon this display of energy, Russia and Austria compromised their demands; limiting them to the expulsion from Turkey of such fugitives as were Poles, and to the detention of some thirty of the other fugitives in the interior. Palmerston had won the day; but he shrewdly remarked that the Emperor of Russia "will probably long remember what has happened and be long ready to take any advantage to pay us off".[1]

The year 1848 passed peacefully in England. The upheaval on the continent no doubt persuaded the chartist leaders to try once more the effect of presenting a monster

[1] Ashley, *Palmerston*, ii., ch. iv.; S. Lane-Poole, *Life of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe*, ii., ch. xxiii.; *Parliamentary Papers: Correspondence respecting Refugees from Hungary*, 1851.

petition to parliament. The direction of the movement had passed into the hands of Feargus O'Connor, a gaseous individual who wielded considerable influence through his paper, the *Northern Star*. Many of the chartists, especially a small but determined physical force party, distrusted both his courage and his honesty. Nevertheless, meetings were held in all the large towns, and the petition was signed by many thousands. On April 4 a convention assembled in London, and the presentation of the document was fixed for the following Monday, the 10th. The government thereupon took action. The Duke of Wellington, as commander-in-chief, undertook to preserve the security of the metropolis. Keeping his regular troops, as far as could be, out of sight, he entrusted the guardianship of the streets to special constables, 170,000 of whom were sworn in. Dismayed by these preparations, O'Connor promised the police that he would abandon the procession. The mob which had gathered on Kennington Common was not permitted by the authorities to cross Westminster Bridge. O'Connor and the chartist executive escorted the petition in three cabs to the house of commons. There the discovery by a select committee that many of the signatures were practical jokes, covered the document with ridicule, and discouraged an agitation, which had been by no means devoid of revolutionary aims, combined with a genuine desire on the part of thoughtful working-men to realise their democratic ambitions.[1]

Irish affairs continued to occupy the attention of parliament during the session of 1848. Early in the year Sir William Somerville, the new chief secretary, introduced a bill giving tenants compensation for improvements, but like its predecessor under Stanley's charge it was stifled by a select committee. The encumbered estates bill, a survival from the previous parliament, became law after the lord chancellor's original plan had been largely altered by the house of commons.[2] Instead of the intervention of the Irish court of chancery, a special commission was substituted for the direction of sales and the discharge of liabilities. Irish agriculture undoubtedly gained by the bill, but the new landowners were frequently

[1] Gammage, *History of the Chartist Movement*, ch. xi.

[2] *Parl. Debates*, February 24, 1848, xcvi., 1249-51,

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out of touch with the tenantry. Though the management of estates improved, rents were raised and their punctual payment exacted. Numerous evictions followed, and the families thus dispossessed carried their grievances against the English government across the Atlantic.

Remedial legislation soon gave way, however, to measures of repression. During the Irish famine the various nationalist factions had been as much concerned with their own differences as with the sufferings of the people. An open rupture existed between "Young Ireland" and the advocates of "moral force," led by John O'Connell with but little of his father's genius. By-and-by the flamboyant eloquence of Duffy and other writers in the *Nation* became too mild for the extremists. John Mitchel founded the *United Irishman*, which published instructions for making pikes and building barricades. Smith O'Brien, a well-intentioned and well-born visionary, was the nominal chief of this ill-organised conspiracy. In March, 1848, he conducted a deputation to Paris, but he received from Lamartine the chilling intimation that France could not with propriety intervene in the affairs of a country with which she wished to remain at peace. The incendiary appeals of the *United Irishman* continued, however, and the crown and government security bill, extending to Ireland acts carried by Pitt and Castlereagh, but mitigating the punishment from death to transportation, rapidly became law. Mitchel was arrested, convicted, and shipped off to Bermuda on a fourteen years' sentence. But the violence of the Young Ireland newspapers increased, and Smith O'Brien, Meagher, and others, withdrew into the country, and held hill-side meetings, at which volunteers were enrolled. Lord Clarendon, much alarmed, asked for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act, and on July 22 a bill for that purpose passed through all its stages at a sitting. Within a week Smith O'Brien, with a handful of followers, made a feeble attack on the police at Ballingarry, in "the widow McCormack's potato patch". He was arrested at Thurles railway station, and sentenced to death for high treason, but the penalty was promptly commuted for transportation.

The weakness of their finance deprived the whigs of most of the credit they had gained through the restoration of law and order in Ireland. In January, 1848, the existing apprehen-

sions of French animosity were sharpened by the publication, through an indiscretion, of a letter addressed by the Duke of Wellington to Sir John Burgoyne, declaring that the British Isles were "not safe for a week after the declaration of war".[1] To allay public alarm Russell took charge of the budget, and proposed that £420,000 should be spent on the military and naval forces, and the militia embodied at the cost of £150,000. To defray this expenditure the income-tax was to be raised from 7d. to 1s. in the pound.[2] A prodigious outcry arose, which Wood endeavoured to propitiate by moving that the naval and military estimates should be referred to a select committee. Shortly afterwards he introduced a new budget in which the income-tax was retained at the old rate of 7d.[3] But to help the West Indies, which were greatly distressed, Russell had agreed to postpone for three years longer the equalisation of the duties on foreign and colonial sugar. Wood's calculations were disarranged; he introduced a third budget on August 25, in which large reductions were effected in the navy and ordnance estimates, while the embodiment of the militia was abandoned. Even so, he had to make good a deficit, and this he did by hurrying through a loan for £2,000,000 in the last days of the session.

Such ineptitude must have destroyed the government had any combination been capable or desirous of taking its place. But Peel preferred to extend a patronising assistance to the perplexed ministry, while keeping himself free from the responsibility of office. Bentinck's support of the Jewish disabilities bill had alienated him from his followers, and the protectionists were practically leaderless.[4] Besides the country was enjoying great prosperity, and had therefore but little desire for political change. The queen's speech of February 2, 1849, devoted considerable space to Ireland, but the claims of that country were, for the most part, vainly pressed by Russell on an indifferent cabinet.[5] However, a temporary rate-in-aid bill, passed easily during the session of this year, devoted £50,000 to the assistance of bankrupt poor-law unions, and

[1] *Annual Register*, xc., Jan., 1848, Chronicle, p. 5.
[2] *Parl. Debates*, February 18, 1848, xcvi., 900-35.
[3] *Ibid.*, February 28, xcvi., 1392-1415.
[4] Disraeli, *Bentinck*, p. 513.
[5] Walpole, *Russell*, ii., 75-81 and 86-89.

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this had promptly to be supplemented by a second grant of £100,000 and an additional £300,000 in the following year. On April 28 Russell introduced a bill, remodelling the Irish poor law. In the lords his limitation of the rate-in-aid to 5s. in the pound was rejected, the argument being that by removing incentives to economy in the administration of the poor law, capital would be frightened away from the country. Russell acquiesced in the alteration, though it was an infringement of the custom prohibiting the house of lords from interfering with money bills.

In the following session, that of 1850, Russell, encouraged by a successful visit paid by the queen and Prince Albert to Ireland, ventured to enlarge the Irish franchise. His proposals were that the vote should be given in the counties to £5 freeholders and in boroughs to ratepayers with an £8 qualification. In the lords the opposition directed its criticism mainly against the increase of the borough constituencies. An amendment was carried raising the standard of franchise from £8 to £15, the effect of which would have been to reduce the new electors from 264,000 persons to little more than half that number. As a compromise a £12 qualification was adopted.

The repeal of the navigation laws, a logical sequel to the freeing of trade, had been the ministry's greatest legislative achievement in 1849. These laws had already been suspended during the crisis of the Irish famine, and prolix debates during the two previous sessions had thoroughly prepared the public mind. Labouchere, now president of the board of trade, found arrayed against him vigorous defenders of a system which, under the changes effected by Wallace and Huskisson, had become one of reciprocity. He had an effective argument in the condition of the Canadian corn trade since the lowering of the import duties. As the farmers of that colony could only export in British bottoms they had to submit to the high freights imposed by British shipowners, with the result that they were undersold by the Americans. Herries, who led the opposition on this question, contended that without the protection of the navigation laws the British mercantile marine would dwindle and decay, while Drummond declared the new measure to be a preliminary to a general displacement of

domestic by alien labour. On going into committee, Labouchere judged it expedient to abandon the clauses by which foreign nations would have been admitted to a share in the coasting trade.[1] But the protectionist interests very nearly wrecked the bill in the lords, in spite of Lord Grey's endorsement of a statement made by Graham in the lower house, that if England persisted in the navigation laws she would lose Canada. The second reading was only carried by a majority of ten.

The whigs still contrived to keep in office despite the deplorable irresolution of Wood's finance, and the attacks to which they were laid open by the foreign and colonial policies of Palmerston and Grey. Russell thought the time ripe for a measure of parliamentary reform, but the cabinet would not listen to him. In resisting the annual motion associated with Joseph Hume and Locke King, he was driven, therefore, to advance arguments which gained for him the nickname of "Finality John," though he afterwards denied that he had ever used an expression implying that the settlement of 1832 could not be reopened.[2]

Though he failed to enlarge the British electorate, Russell succeeded, in 1850, in carrying a measure bestowing constitutional liberties on the Australian colonies. In a remarkable review of the history and progress of the British dependencies, the prime minister proved himself far more alive to the value of the imperial connexion than most of his contemporaries.[3] The liberties bestowed on New South Wales in 1843 were therefore extended to Victoria and Tasmania, which became separate colonies, and to South Australia as well. On the self governing colonies Russell bestowed a single chamber, two-thirds of whose members were to be popularly elected, with constituent powers. Left free to create their own forms of government, the colonies adopted the bi-cameral model, and their constitutions were sanctioned by the imperial parliament in 1856. Gladstone and other politicians of conservative leanings strongly objected to the provisional single chamber arrangement, and in the house of lords it was only carried by

[1] *Parl. Debates*, March 23, 1849, ciii., 1196-99.
[2] *Ibid.*, July 9, 1850, cxii., 1166-69.
[3] *Ibid.*, February 8, 1850, cviii., 535-67.

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a majority of two. The extreme degree of independence, practically amounting to constitutional separation, with the sovereign as the one remaining link, was advocated by Sir William Molesworth, who would have abolished the power of the crown to reserve or disallow colonial laws. He received but little support; still there was force in Carlyle's contention that the constitutions were "Godfrey's cordial" constitutions—that they were granted, that is, to keep the colonies quiet.[1]

"Downing Street ideas" had assumed unhappy prominence in Lord Grey's conscientious, but dogmatic, administration of colonial affairs. He could not appreciate the local objections to the transportation system, and his attempts to impose convicts on Australia and the Cape created the deepest resentment. Nor were his relations with strong-minded governors altogether fortunate, though he was probably right in consenting to a five years' suspension of the New Zealand constitution act on the demand of the governor, Sir George Grey.[2] In South Africa Lord Grey would have liked to see imperial responsibilities restricted to the neighbourhood of Cape Town and Simon's Bay. But the governor, Sir Harry Smith, after the Kaffir war had been brought to an end, proceeded to abolish the treaty system under which the chiefs held their territories, and in December, 1847, annexed their country up to the Orange River. Not content with this exploit, he added to the British dominions in the following year the territory between the Orange and Vaal rivers, under the title of the Orange River Sovereignty, and defeated the Boers who resisted British rule at Boomplaats, on August 29, 1848. Grey reluctantly acquiesced, and Smith took a long step farther. Though by the Sand River Convention of January 17, 1852, the independence of the Boers living beyond the Vaal was recognised, under the title of the South African Republic, the internal affairs of the sovereignty, and especially the relations between the white settlers and their warlike neighbours, the Basutos, were kept under rigorous control. But the chief Moshesh inflicted a defeat on a hastily raised force at Viervoet, and a revival of the Kaffir

[1] Carlyle's Essay, "The New Downing Street," in the *Latter-Day Pamphlets*, a deliverance about equally compounded of wisdom and perversity. Godfrey's cordial was a popular medicine of the day.

[2] *Parliamentary Papers relating to the affairs of New Zealand*, 1847.

war gave the whigs an opportunity for recalling the venturesome governor.[1] CHAP. IV.

Grey's innate rectitude caused him, however, to appear to advantage when defending the policy pursued by Lord Elgin in Canada. The governor-general had called a ministry to his councils, chosen according to constitutional usage from the majority of the lower house, which was liberal or French, and had accepted its rebellion losses bill, though some of the compensation went to persons who had been in arms against the queen. The result was that riots broke out in Montreal; government buildings were burnt and Elgin himself was assaulted. Grey upheld his subordinate, contending that if Canada was to be ruled on constitutional principles, the governor-general must abide by the advice of the ministry.[2]

The death of Peel, killed by a fall from his horse, on July 2, 1850, deprived the whigs of an influence which at once supported and restrained them. Russell's habitual good sense deserted him in the autumn of that year when the pope issued a brief for "re-establishing and extending the catholic faith in England". For the moment his intemperate letter to Maltby, the Bishop of Durham, was received with a general shout of approval. The queen's speech of February 4, 1851, announced a measure of resistance to the papal innovations, and the bill, introduced by Russell in a fighting speech, was brought in by an enormous majority. But then a series of disasters fell on the ministry. Disraeli's resolution, pressing for legislation to remedy the depressed state of agriculture, was only defeated by fourteen votes. Wood introduced one of the most unfortunate of his many unfortunate budgets. Finally, the government were beaten by over two to one on Russell's attempt to procure the rejection of Locke King's bill for equalising the county with the borough franchise, undertaking himself to deal later with the matter. Russell hastened to place his resignation in the queen's hands, and recommended her to entrust the formation of a ministry to Lord Stanley. Much to the disappointment of his followers[3] he declined the task, and negotiations between the whig and Peelite chiefs broke down.[4] There was nothing

[1] Theal, *History of South Africa*, vol. iv., ch. xliii. and xlvi.

[2] *The Letters and Journals of Lord Elgin*, edited by T. Walrond, ch. iv.

[3] Lord Malmesbury, *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, i., 278.

[4] Walpole's *Russell*, ii., 124-28.

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for it but the return of the whigs to office, discredited though they were. They recast their budget, repealing the window tax, and carried the ecclesiastical titles bill in truncated form, making it illegal for Roman catholic prelates to assume territorial designations. This prohibition, quite against the intentions of the government, was extended by Thesiger, who had been Peel's attorney-general, to Irish sees constituted in the past by the pope. The bill remained a dead letter, though it was not repealed until 1871.

The exhibition of the industries of all nations—the Great Exhibition as it was universally called—held in Hyde Park between May 1 and October 15, had caused politics to recede into the background. The idea owed everything to Prince Albert, who acted as chairman of the commissioners. He enlisted the support of foreign personages, notably that of Prince Louis Napoleon, the president of the French republic, and the brilliant success of the whole enterprise was largely due to his labours. Many royal and princely guests attended the opening ceremonies, and visitors from abroad poured into London throughout the summer. Continental observers were struck by the beauty of the Crystal Palace, designed by Sir Joseph Paxton, and by the admirable behaviour of the crowds, estimated at 25,000 within the buildings and nearly 700,000 on the royal route on May 1, the opening day. When it closed, 6,200,000 persons had visited an exhibition which Queen Victoria described, and many of her subjects regarded, as "the greatest triumph of peace which the world has ever seen".[1]

Palmerston, though popular with the country, continued to be a source of anxiety to the cabinet and court. Out of doors his name never stood higher than in 1850, and the "Don Pacifico" debate, which was to have ended in the discomfiture of the ministry, was converted by him into a striking personal victory. The foreign secretary had to defend his decidedly high-handed action on behalf of various British subjects who could obtain no redress for their grievances from the Greek government. In several instances their complaints were serious enough. The king, for instance, had taken for his

[1] Martin, *Prince Consort*, ii., 405. The building continued to be known as the Crystal Palace after it was removed to Sydenham.

private purposes some land belonging to Finlay, the historian. The person who attracted most attention was Don Pacifico, a dubious financier whose house had been sacked by the Athenian mob. Failing to bring the Greek ministry to reason, Palmerston directed Admiral Parker to blockade the coast and seize merchant vessels, and to that pressure it ultimately yielded. But in the meantime the good offices of France had been treated without much ceremony both at Athens and in London, and the government of the republic, considering itself affronted, recalled its ambassador, Drouyn de Lhuys. Palmerston complacently assured the house that Drouyn de Lhuys had gone to Paris "in order personally to be the medium of communication between the two governments," but next day the truth became known. A hostile resolution moved in the upper house by Lord Stanley was carried against the government on June 17 by a majority of 27. The cabinet determined to stand by a colleague of whose vagaries it disapproved, and Roebuck was selected to bring forward a resolution formally approving Palmerston's policy. The intervention of the foreign secretary on the second of the memorable four nights' debate was decisive. His comprehensive survey of Europe leading up to the peroration, *civis Romanus sum*, won from Peel, in the last speech he ever delivered, the generous admission that the house was proud of Palmerston, and Russell hailed him as a "minister of England".[1] A majority of 46 stamped the foreign secretary as the most powerful man in the ministry and the most popular with the nation.

The court, however, continued to regard his policy with dislike, and on August 12, after he had rejected the proposal that he should be transferred to another office, he was confronted by a memorandum from the queen requesting, under penalty of dismissal, that he would distinctly state in each case what he proposed, in order that the queen might know what she had sanctioned, and that he would not subsequently alter or modify despatches which had received the royal approval. By that arrangement he promised to abide.[2] But the cabinet had to put up with fresh escapades, until his conduct after

[1] *Parl. Debates*, June 25, 1850, cxii., 380-444.
[2] Martin, *Prince Consort*, ii., 305-10.

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Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état* of December 2, 1851, exhausted its patience.[1] Directed to observe strict neutrality, he privately expressed his approval of the prince president's proceedings in a conversation with the French ambassador, Count Walewski, and repeated that approval on the 16th, in an official despatch to the British ambassador, Lord Normanby. When called to task by Russell, he defended rather than explained his action, and, having declined the lord lieutenancy of Ireland, he was forced to surrender the seals.[2]

The ministry was fatally weakened by the loss of its strongest member. On the first night of the next session, February 3, 1852, Russell surprised Palmerston by producing the queen's memorandum of August, 1850, and the ex-minister's defence was in consequence ineffective. But, after the prime minister had brought forward a reform bill which excited little public interest, Palmerston had his revenge. The imminent revival of an imperial form of government in France having created alarm, Russell, on February 16, announced that the government would proceed with the plan of 1846, for constituting a militia force. In pursuance of his frequently expressed ideas, Palmerston moved the omission of the word "local" from the title of the bill, so as to make the militia generally available as an army reserve. He defeated the government by a majority of 11 (135 votes to 126), and Russell immediately announced that his administration was at an end. "I have had my tit-for-tat with John Russell," wrote Palmerston in the lightness of his heart to his brother, "and I turned him out on Friday last."

[1] Walpole, *Russell*, ii., 132-38.

[2] Ashley, *Palmerston*, ii., ch. vii.; Martin, *Prince Consort*, ii., 406-28; Walpole, *Russell*, ii., 138-42; *Memoirs of Stockmar*, ii., 458-64.

CHAPTER V.

THE COALITION CABINET AND THE WAR WITH RUSSIA.

ON the resignation of Russell, in February, 1852, Lord Derby—for so Lord Stanley had become on his father's death in June, 1851 — accepted the responsibility he had declined in the previous year. The refusals of Palmerston and Gladstone compelled him to form a ministry, mainly out of untried material, though Herries, a financial veteran, went to the board of control. Disraeli, however, became chancellor of the exchequer and leader of the commons; and Derby chose his colleagues with discrimination, some of them proving capable administrators. Lord St. Leonards (Sugden) became chancellor; Spencer Walpole, home secretary; Sir John Pakington, colonial secretary; and the Duke of Northumberland, first lord of the admiralty. Lord Malmesbury, an intimate friend of Louis Napoleon, soon to become Emperor of the French, was made foreign secretary.

The new government did well during a session which, through an understanding between the two parties, was brought to an end by a dissolution in July. The home secretary introduced a militia bill, which Palmerston supported, though Russell and the radicals hotly attacked it. The force was made available for service in any part of the United Kingdom, and was to be recruited by voluntary enlistment, though the ballot was to be retained for emergencies. The second reading of this useful measure was carried by a large majority (315 votes to 165), and in the house of lords the Duke of Wellington, in the last speech he ever made, gave it his emphatic approval. Disraeli's budget gained praise from the opposition, since he declined to make any change in the fiscal system of the country, and merely continued the income tax for a year. An

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act for improving the London water supply and other sanitary measures rounded off an industrious session.

Though the government gained some strength at the polls, the verdict of the country was still for free trade. The revenue had nearly reached its former level, but £6,000,000 of taxation had disappeared; exports had increased by over £20,000,000; crime and pauperism had diminished. Disraeli sagaciously perceived that a downright protectionist policy had no chance, and encouraged agriculture to look for compensation elsewhere. "If you should be of opinion," declared the queen's speech when parliament met again on November 11, "that recent legislation, in contributing, with other causes, to this happy result [the improved condition of the people] has at the same time inflicted unavoidable injury on certain important interests, I recommend you dispassionately to consider how far it may be practicable equitably to mitigate that injury, and to enable the industry of the country to meet successfully that unrestricted competition to which parliament, in its wisdom, has decided that it should be subjected." The judicious vagueness of this declaration was far from satisfying the opposition. Villiers, after the expiration of the truce of parties necessitated by the public funeral of the Duke of Wellington on November 18, tried to commit the house to a definite approval of the free trade legislation, and especially of the repeal of the corn laws in 1846. Palmerston came to the rescue with alternative resolutions, attributing the prosperity of the country mainly to free trade, and declaring that this policy should be "firmly maintained and prudently extended". Disraeli accepted that form of words, and it was adopted by no less than 468 votes to 53.

Conscious, however, of the insecurity of their tenure, the ministers determined to stake their existence on the budget. In a brilliant speech of five hours, Disraeli explained his financial proposals on December 3. Their chief features were, first, the reduction of the malt tax by one-half for the benefit of the landed interests, while the general consumer could hope for a gradual lowering of the tea duty from 2s. 2¼d. to 1s. in the pound. The income tax was to be assessed on one-third of the farmer's rental instead of one-half, and it was at the same time to be extended to industrial incomes of £100 a year, and incomes derived from property of £50. It was also to embrace

funded property and salaries in Ireland. The house duty was to be extended over houses of £10 rateable value, and to be raised from 9d. to 1s. 6d. in the pound.[1] Gladstone subjected these adroit readjustments, especially the increase of the house tax, to searching criticism, and probably influenced votes by his passionate rebuke of Disraeli for some aspersions on the character of Graham. The division taken at four o'clock in the morning of the 18th, on which the government found itself in a minority of nineteen (ayes, 286; noes, 305), was regarded as decisive. The Derby administration resigned, after Disraeli had uttered his memorable prophecy: "This I know, that England does not love coalitions".

As Disraeli was evidently aware, negotiations had been on foot, even before the dissolution, between the Peelites and whigs and between the various leaders of the latter party. After an unedifying canvass of personal claims, Russell was persuaded that he had become impossible as premier. Most of the whigs looked to Lord Lansdowne, but he felt too old for the appointment, and he was besides unacceptable to the Peelites. Lord Aberdeen was accordingly entrusted with the formation of the new government, and, after a nine days' interval, the ministry kissed hands on December 28. When the small voting strength which the Peelites brought to the combination—some thirty votes—was considered, they were thought to have been over-greedy of office. Besides Aberdeen at the treasury, there were Graham at the admiralty, Gladstone chancellor of the exchequer, the Duke of Newcastle secretary for war and the colonies, and Sidney Herbert secretary at war. Of the members of the whig ministry, Palmerston, to the public surprise, but to his own contentment, went to the home office. The queen's personal appeal to Russell, induced him to accept the leadership of the house of commons, together with the foreign office, on the understanding that he could resign the second appointment when he chose in favour of Lord Clarendon; an arrangement which took effect early in the following session. So far as policy went, the ministry appeared to be fairly of one mind; since Molesworth, the first commissioner of public works, who was

[1] *Parl. Debates*, December 3, 1852, cxxiii., 836-907.

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a survival of the philosophic radicals, exercised but little influence. But it was weakened throughout its existence by the continual misunderstandings that arose between Aberdeen and Russell, and its majority was most unstable. Ably led by Disraeli, the conservatives formed a compact opposition, always liable to be reinforced by free trade radicals like Roebuck, Cobden, and Bright, who were by no means conciliated by the appointment of Villiers to the unimportant office of judge advocate general.[1]

For the moment, however, all seemed well with the Aberdeen government. The session, which witnessed the abolition of the transportation system, and the opening of the Indian civil service to public competition, was stamped with a character of its own by Gladstone's achievements in finance. Having with difficulty converted the cabinet to his sanguine ideas, he laid his proposals before the house on April 18. Following in Peel's footsteps, he undertook to abolish the duties on soap and 123 other articles, and to reduce those on 133 more, including tea, which was eventually to be taxed at 1s. in the pound. He also determined to reduce the income tax gradually with a view to its ultimate abolition. For two years it was to stand at 7d., for two more at 6d., and for the last three at 5d. But the main feature of the budget of 1853 was the extension of the legacy duty to all successions whatever, whether they comprised real or personal property. In his optimistic way, the chancellor of the exchequer anticipated that he would thus add some £2,000,000 a year to the resources of the state.[2] As a matter of fact the legacy duty brought in less than a fourth of that amount. Gladstone's speech was regarded as a masterpiece of financial exposition, and in the house of commons the complaint was, not that he proposed to abolish the income tax, but that he had not contrived to extinguish the unpopular impost at once. When parliament rose on August 20, Aberdeen imagined it to be merely a question of weeks before he could fulfil his personal desires by resigning the premiership in favour of Russell. But matters of the gravest import now demanded his attention.

"Acting in concert with her allies, and relying on the

[1] See the interesting analysis of parties in Morley, *Gladstone*, ii., 448.

[2] *Parl. Debates*, April 18, 1853, cxxv., 1350-425, and Morley, *Gladstone*, i., 457-75.

exertions of the conference now assembled at Vienna," thus ran the queen's speech at the prorogation of parliament, "her majesty has good reason to hope that an honourable arrangement will speedily be accomplished" of "the serious misunderstanding which has recently arisen between Russia and the Ottoman Porte." That was the point diplomacy had so far attained in its attempts to settle a dispute which, trivial at first, had already assumed sufficiently formidable proportions. Its origin was the guardianship of the holy places in Palestine, which had been conceded by treaty to the French over a hundred years previously; but this guardianship had of late been contested by the Greek Church, whose pilgrimages were much more numerously attended. After his election to the presidency of the French republic, Louis Napoleon put pressure on the Porte to secure the custody of the sanctuaries for the Latins. Lavalette, the French ambassador at Constantinople, frightened the sultan, Abd-el-Medjid, with peremptory demands, and the distracted potentate tried to rid himself of his troubles by offering one compromise to the Latin priests and another to the Greeks. CHAP. V.

As the crisis lengthened the anger of the tsar Nicholas rose. Since the revolution of 1848 he had been accustomed to dominate Europe, and he bitterly resented the opposition of an upstart like Napoleon III., whom he would only condescend to style "Mon cher ami," instead of "Monsieur mon frère". On the other hand he was well disposed towards England, and placed implicit confidence in the pacific intentions of Aberdeen. Early in 1853 he held two momentous conversations with Sir Hamilton Seymour, the British ambassador at St. Petersburg. His proposals amounted to a partition of the "sick man's" dominions, by which Egypt and, possibly, Candia were to fall to the share of England. But he would never allow any re-construction of the Byzantine empire, or any extension of Greece, so as to render her a powerful state; still less would he countenance the breaking up of Turkey into little republics, the asylums of continental revolutionists. His one positive suggestion was that the European territories of the Porte might be formed into states after the model of the principalities of Walachia and Moldavia.[1] This language was virtually a repeti-

[1] *Eastern Papers*, 1853, part v., pp. 2, 4.

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tion of his views as stated to Aberdeen during his visit to England nearly nine years earlier.[1] The British government, instead of asking him to define his ideas with greater precision, contented itself with implying that they were inadmissible and with disavowing on its own behalf all projects of territorial aggrandisement.

While Russell was still at the foreign office, the gravity of the crisis persuaded him to ask Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, who had resigned on the change of government, to return to Constantinople. Unfortunately he had in the past incurred the animosity of the tsar, who in 1832 had refused to receive him as ambassador at St. Petersburg, while the peace party in the cabinet regarded him as a dangerous man.[2] He reached Constantinople in April, taking Paris and Vienna on his way, and at both capitals he preached moderation. He found, on his arrival, that affairs had drifted into a position of difficulty and peril. To enforce his demands, Nicholas had despatched Prince Menshikov, a rough soldier, who had terrorised the sultan and brought about a ministerial crisis. Believing an occupation of Constantinople by Russian troops to be imminent, Colonel Rose, the British *chargé d'affaires*, had urged the officer in command in the Mediterranean to bring his squadron to the Dardanelles. Admiral Sir James Dundas had refused to move without orders, and the government had approved his refusal. The French, however, had hastily despatched their fleet to Smyrna. Stratford learned that Menshikov had propounded other demands besides those for a settlement of the quarrel about the holy places, and that they included nothing less than the recognition of Russia's claim to protect the members of the Greek Church in the Turkish dominions. By his advice the two negotiations were kept separate, and under his direction a settlement of the first matter was reached before the end of the month. The doorkeeper of the Church of the Nativity was always to be a Greek, and Greek worshippers were always to have the first hour of the day at the sacred tomb.

Menshikov's ulterior demands were regarded by Stratford as equivalent to "the surrender to Russian influence, management and authority of the Greek churches and clergy through-

[1] Martin, *Prince Consort*, i., 215, and *Stockmar*, ii., 106.
[2] Walpole, *Russell*, ii., 179 note.

out Turkey, and eventually, therefore, of the whole Greek population dependent on the priests". They were formulated in peremptory terms in a note of May 5, giving the Porte five days to decide. A change of ministry which placed Reshid Pasha at the foreign office, afforded the Porte a pretext for further delay. On the 21st, however, the Russian ultimatum was rejected, and the Menshikov mission came to an end. Enraged at this rebuff, the tsar was with difficulty dissuaded from war by his chancellor Nesselrode.[1] As a compromise he determined on occupying the Principalities, and on July 4 the Russian troops crossed the Pruth.

The Aberdeen ministry was ill qualified for handling a European crisis. The prime minister and most of the cabinet were anxious to keep the peace. But Russell, Palmerston, and Newcastle formed a vigorous war party, and they undoubtedly represented the feeling of the country. Clarendon's despatches attempted, but vainly, to bring the two policies into harmony, and their purport was frequently attenuated by Aberdeen before they were sent off. Meanwhile all the foreign offices and most of the embassies at Constantinople were anxiously endeavouring to discover some pacific solution of the eastern question.[2] Out of a draft prepared by the French government, and amended by Austria and Great Britain, there emerged the Vienna note, which, with the adhesion of Prussia, was presented at St. Petersburg and Constantinople. It attempted to blend a recognition of the tsar's right to protect the Christians in Turkey with a recognition of the independence of the Porte. Nicholas accepted it as satisfactory, but it was rejected by the Turks as containing, unless modified as they proposed, admonitions incompatible with the safety of the Ottoman empire. Their amendments the tsar rejected, and on September 19 the powers abandoned the note. The Porte now threatened to declare war against Russia, unless a pacific solution was reached within a limited time.

[1] *Diplomatic Study of the Crimean War* (Russian official publication), i., 194. The statements in this work have to be received with caution unless they are supported by independent evidence.

[2] Their projects and counter-projects, eleven in all, are admirably summarised by Mr. S. Lane-Poole in his *Life of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe*, ii., 278-79.

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But diplomacy had not yet said its last word, and to Stratford was entrusted the preparation of a fresh note. This Aberdeen wished to be presented to the Porte with an additional intimation that, if it were not adopted, the four powers would not permit themselves "to be drawn into a policy inconsistent with the peace of Europe, as well as with the true interests of Turkey itself". At the same time he wrote to Gladstone: "Step by step the Turks have drawn us into a position in which we are more or less committed to their support".[1] Palmerston and Russell, however, discountenanced the idea, and the cabinet determined to exact from the Turks a suspension of hostilities, pending negotiations. On Russell's suggestion the words "for a reasonable time" were inserted, and the Porte proceeded to limit that time to a fortnight. On October 24 the Turkish commander on the Danube, Omar Pasha, summoned Prince Gortchakov to evacuate the Principalities within fifteen days, saying that a negative reply would be regarded as a declaration of war. The Russian answered that he had "no authority to treat of peace or war or the evacuation of the Principalities," and Reshid Pasha accepted the evasion as "the beginning of war".[2]

The governments of England and France had already placed their Mediterranean squadrons at the disposal of their ambassadors, and since the beginning of June they had been anchored in Besika Bay, outside the Dardanelles. On September 23 Clarendon, fearing a massacre of Europeans in Constantinople, had actually ordered the fleet to advance within the straits, but Stratford took his own time, and delayed that momentous step until October 22. To the general surprise the Turkish troops proved fully a match for the Russians, and, crossing the Danube, inflicted some severe defeats on them. The Russian Black Sea squadron thereupon left Sebastopol, and on November 30, finding eleven Turkish vessels of war in an exposed position at Sinope, it fell upon them and destroyed them. Legitimate act of hostilities though it was, the "massacre" of Sinope incensed the British people, who had been watching with growing impatience each aggressive move on

[1] Stanmore, *Life of Lord Aberdeen*, p. 232.
[2] Lane-Poole, *Stratford de Redcliffe*, ii., 301.

the part of Russia and the irresolution with which the British government appeared to meet it. The news arrived at a moment when Russell had contrived to introduce an additional topic of discord into the debates of the distracted cabinet, by laying before it the draft of a new reform bill, and Palmerston had in consequence resigned. Lansdowne also threatened retirement. However, a compromise was reached through the exertions of the prime minister, Gladstone, and others. Russell consented to tone down some of the features of his measure of reform, and Palmerston withdrew his resignation.[1] He had been out of the cabinet for ten days, and nine people out of ten declined to believe that details connected with the franchise had made him leave it. His action was regarded as a protest against the feebleness of the eastern policy of the government, a policy imposed on it, in the opinion of ardent patriots, by Prince Albert, out of regard for German interests. These suppositions, baseless though they were, appeared to be confirmed when it became known that the combined fleets had been directed to enter the Black Sea, and, on the suggestion of the Emperor of the French to "invite" every Russian vessel found in those waters to return to Sebastopol.[2] The decision, when communicated to St. Petersburg, put a stop to such negotiations as were still languidly in progress. The Russian government withdrew its ambassadors from Paris and London, and, on February 6, 1854, the British and French ministers were instructed to leave St. Petersburg.

On the meeting of parliament on January 31, the queen's speech announced that, though endeavours to restore peace between Turkey and Russia would be continued, "I think it requisite to make a further augmentation of my naval and military forces, with the view of supporting my representations, and of more effectually contributing to the restoration of peace". Aberdeen, in the upper house, and Russell, in the lower, experienced little difficulty in vindicating Prince Albert from the unworthy charges of subordinating British to German interests that had been made against him. While, however, the prime minister seemed painfully anxious

[1] Palmerston's correspondence with Aberdeen was published in the *Quarterly Review*, vol. cxliii. (January, 1877), pp. 370-79.

[2] *Eastern Papers*, part ii., pp. 304-21.

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to express his detestation of war, the leader of the house of commons struck the patriotic note. The opposition generously refrained from embarrassing the government in such critical times, though they commented with severity on its infirmity of purpose. But Russell found the feeling of the house steadily against him when he persisted in introducing his reform bill. Most reluctantly he consented to postpone the second reading until April 27. Before that date was reached, Aberdeen was confronted with the resignations of Palmerston and Lansdowne, if progress was to be made with the bill; with the retirement of Russell and Graham, if it was to be dropped. Russell actually left the cabinet, but the appeals of the queen and his colleagues induced him to reconsider his position.[1] On the 11th he explained the reasons which had induced the government to postpone the measure, with a dignified reference to his own situation which the house heartily cheered.

To Gladstone it fell to provide for the increased expenditure required for the war. He brought forward a provisional budget for half a year on March 6, and a completed scheme two months later. Lightly disposing of the failure of his conversion scheme, by declaring that none of his critics had foreseen it, he laid down the principle that war supplies were to be raised by taxes rather than by loan. The policy of Pitt received from him the severest condemnation. "The system of raising funds necessary for wars by loan practises wholesale, systematic, and continual deception on the people. The people do not really know what they are doing. The consequences are adjourned into a far future."[2] He preferred to double the income tax, raising it from sevenpence to fourteen-pence in the pound, and increase the duties on spirits, sugar, and malt.

The treaty of alliance between England, France, and the Porte was signed on March 12. Earlier in the year, Napoleon III., with an eye to public opinion in his own country, had taken the unusual step of addressing an autograph letter to the tsar, setting forth his pacific intentions. Nicholas replied, on February 9, with a reasoned exposition of the diplomacy pursued by his ministers. "Russia," he wrote in conclusion, "will

[1] Walpole, *Russell*, ii., 204-8.
[2] *Parl. Debates*, May 8, 1854, cxxxii., 1413-79.

prove herself in 1854 what she was in 1812." As sequel to this correspondence, the tsar issued a ukase ordering an extensive levy of soldiers throughout his dominions, and a manifesto to his subjects announcing that Russia would not be unfaithful to her holy mission. The obedient *corps législatif* unanimously voted the Emperor of the French a loan of 250,000,000 francs for war purposes. The declaration of hostilities, on March 28, was popular in Great Britain. Enthusiastic crowds cheered the troops as they embarked, with Lord Raglan as their commander-in-chief. At the Reform Club a banquet given in honour of Sir Charles Napier, the commander of the Baltic fleet, produced some high-flown language from Palmerston and Graham. When Bright, in the house, expressed his regret for their levity, Palmerston quizzed him as "the honourable and reverend gentleman," and affected to treat his censure "with the most perfect indifference and contempt". For the moment the advocates of peace were without influence, their remonstrances being regarded as based on cosmopolitan theories, incapable of realisation.

The joint expedition to the Baltic, commanded by Sir Charles Napier and Vice-admiral Parseval-Deschênes, accomplished but little. After blockading the coast of Finland, and taking forty-six merchant vessels and a great quantity of naval stores, the allies reconnoitred Cronstadt, but did not venture to attack it. Bomarsund fell to them, however, on August 16, after a feeble defence, thanks chiefly to the artillery of the French engineer, General Niel. In the White Sea, Archangel was blockaded, and Kola, the capital of Russian Lapland, burnt. On returning home with this disappointing record, Napier proceeded to lay the blame on the admiralty and his fleet.[1] His successor, Sir Richard Dundas, was not more fortunate, though his force combined with that of Penaud, the French admiral, numbered 101 vessels, mounting over 2,500 guns. After lying off Cronstadt without attempting a hostile movement, they indulged, on August 9 and 10, 1855, in an ineffective bombardment of Sveaborg. Many wooden buildings were destroyed, but Dundas admitted that the sea defences in general were

[1] Earp, *History of the Baltic Campaign of* 1854; General Elers Napier, *Life and Correspondence of Admiral Sir Charles Napier*; vol. ii.

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little injured. Russia was discovered to be equally invulnerable in the Pacific, since a joint naval attack made upon Petropaulovski, the seaport of the province of Kamschatka, on August 28, 1854, was beaten off with heavy losses.

The campaign on the Danube in 1854 proved much to the credit of Turkish arms. The beginning of the year found Omar Pasha holding on grimly to Kalafat, where he entrenched himself and held his own in various desultory combats. On March 23, however, the Russians crossed the river at three points and invested the crazy fortifications of Silistria. The garrison, its courage animated by the presence of two young English officers, Butler and Nasmyth, made the stoutest of defences, while Omar Pasha, who had retired to Shumla, sent succours in provisions and men. On June 22 the Russian general, Paskievitch, confessed himself beaten by raising the siege. Menaced by the rapidly increasing forces of the allies on the one side, and the 50,000 men stationed on the frontier of the Principalities by Austria, the position of the tsar's troops was becoming untenable. On June 3 Austria, with the support of Prussia, had summoned him to evacuate Turkish territory. He delayed until the last moment, but at the beginning of July his troops re-crossed the Danube with the Turks at their heels. On August 2 they evacuated the Principalities altogether, and Austria occupied the country under a military convention with the Porte and in its interests. The immediate objects of the war, therefore, had been secured. At the same time, to have stopped at that stage would have been to leave the Ottoman Empire at the mercy of Nicholas, who could pick his own opportunity for returning to the attack, and who had in Sebastopol an embodied menace he could always employ against the sultan.

The allied armies, after making an entrenched camp at Gallipoli for the defence of Constantinople against a *coup de main*, landed at Varna, in Bulgaria, on May 29, to support Omar Pasha at Shumla. Unfortunately the climate proved most unhealthy, and, in addition, cholera, after sweeping through the French camp, soon spread to the British. On August 11 a fire broke out in the town and destroyed a considerable quantity of stores. Expeditions into the barren interior failed to disclose the whereabouts of the Russians,

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while the march of the French general, Espinasse, through the pestiferous Dobrudzha, weakened the emperor's army by the loss of no less than 3,000 officers and men. Of the French divisions, 10,000 men were killed or disabled by sickness; in the British regiments between five and six hundred.

The idea of striking a blow at Sebastopol had long since been approved by Napoleon III., if it did not actually originate with him. The fortress and arsenal formed, indeed, the only point where Russia could be vitally injured. The project received the clamorous approval of the English press; it was praised by leaders of the opposition like Lyndhurst and members of the government like Palmerston. It was believed that Sebastopol could be taken by assault from the north.[1] Writing in his old age, Todleben, the Russian engineer who improvised the defences, declared that if the allies had pressed the attack from that side after the battle of the Alma, the place must have fallen. It is possible, however, that he unconsciously exaggerated the weakness of the position, more especially after Menshikov, against his admiral's wishes, blocked the harbour by sinking seven of his ships in its mouth.[2] The expedition was undertaken, in any case, very late in the year; it was destitute of an adequate siege train, and, for a winter campaign, the troops were unprovided with warm clothing. According to Kinglake the members of the cabinet council, which, on June 28, adopted the momentous decision, were mostly asleep while the instructions to Lord Raglan were being read. The accusation seems to be true; but the ministers were merely registering a plan which had been already subjected to long and anxious deliberation.[3] Their real mistake was that they did nothing to introduce order into the chaos of military administration, in spite of the urgent advice of Prince Albert and Russell, who alone appear to have appreciated the paralysis produced by the want of concert between the departments.

The instructions to Raglan were so worded that he regarded them as imperative. Sebastopol was to be besieged

[1] Ashley, *Palmerston*, ii., 60 *et seq.*

[2] Todleben, *Défense de Sebastopol*, part i., pp. 220-21; but see *The War in the Crimea*, by General Sir E. Hamley, pp. 67-72.

[3] Kinglake, *Invasion of the Crimea*, ii., 93; and Walpole, *Russell*, ii., 222.

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unless he was decidedly of opinion that the operation could not be undertaken with a reasonable chance of success. Raglan replied that he was without definite information of any kind, but he obeyed. An unopposed landing was effected near Eupatoria on September 14, the numbers of the allied armies being about 50,000 men, besides some 6,000 Turks. On the 20th they found Prince Menshikov on the Alma, his troops blunderingly disposed along a position he deemed impregnable. Lord Raglan took up his station on an exposed knoll, well within the enemy's lines where he could exercise but slight control over the fortunes of the day. The commanders of divisions, however, were equal to the emergency and forced the position by a frontal attack, though not without heavy sacrifices. The French, who were to have turned Menshikov's left wing, went astray and arrived too late to have much effect on the battle. The total loss was 3,479 men, of whom nearly three-fifths belonged to the British; the Russians stated their losses at 5,709. The opportunity of taking Sebastopol by assault from the north was missed; the idea does not seem, indeed, to have been seriously entertained, St. Arnaud, the French commander-in-chief, who was smitten by a mortal disease, regarding it as impracticable.[1] The allies executed instead a flank march across the enemy's front, a most hazardous operation, but the only one feasible, after it had been determined not to attack on the "north side". They all but came into collision with Menshikov's army as he retreated from Sebastopol to keep communications open. The British now established themselves with Balaclava Bay as their base; the French with that of Kamiesh. Acting on the advice of General Burgoyne, the engineer-in-chief, they refrained from an assault and began a siege in form. Working with desperate energy, Todleben and Admiral Kornilov threw up earthworks and mounted guns. When the allies opened fire on October 17, the Russian artillery silenced the French and blew up their principal magazine, and though the British dominated the Russian fire, they could not attack without the French. The allied fleet effected nothing, and was severely damaged by the Russian forts.

On the 25th Menshikov swooped down upon the harbour

[1] *Correspondance du Maréchal Saint Arnaud*, ii., 508; and Kinglake, *Crimea*, iii., ch. iii.

of Balaclava and drove the Turks out of three strong redoubts. But Colin Campbell, with the 93rd regiment, stopped the Russian cavalry, and Scarlett's heavy brigade crashed into them and crumpled them up. The battle was practically won, when the vague orders of Lord Raglan, and the exaggerated belief in the powers of cavalry entertained by his *aide-de-camp*, Captain Nolan, who carried his message to Lord Lucan, were responsible for the magnificent, but useless, charge of the Light Brigade, commanded by Lord Cardigan, on the Russian guns. A timely attack by the French horse saved the brigade from absolute annihilation; but they lost 247 in killed and wounded out of some 600. The Russians held the battlefield. Next day they attacked Mount Inkerman, but were beaten off by General de Lacy Evans. On November 5, in the early morning fog, they attacked the same position in overwhelming strength. The British outposts, however, under Pennefather, held their own against the massive Russian columns, upon which their accurate musketry fire played with damaging effect. A furious combat raged round the Sandbag battery, until General Bosquet sent troops to the support of the British. Finally the beaten Russians recoiled, and the French and English were too exhausted to pursue them. The allies had lost 4,400 men as against 12,000, and they had shown that the powers which held command over the sea "must prevail over the power whose theatre of war was separated from its resources by roadless deserts".[1]

Three days after the battle of Inkerman, Raglan informed the commissary-general that the army would winter in the Crimea. All went well until November 14, when a hurricane inflicted much misery on the troops, especially the sick, and wrecked twenty-one vessels containing medicine, clothing, and forage, while the French lost their finest ship of war, the *Henri IV.* The destruction of the hay proved the cause of many deaths, especially as the treasury, which had charge of the commissariat, neglected to send out a fresh supply. It meant that the commissary-general was unable to keep up a transport corps; the food and materials for shelter could not be brought up to the ridge from the harbour, unless the men

[1] Hamley, *Crimea*, p. 163.

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themselves, after arduous labours in the trenches, toiled down for them over the quagmire of a road. Short rations, overwork, and exposure to the pitiless rain and snow soon told their tale; by the end of November nearly 8,000 British troops were in hospital. In January, 1855, Lord Raglan mustered only 11,000 men fit to bear arms; but the French, though they also suffered much from exposure and insufficient food, were heavily reinforced, and numbered 78,000 men.

The disclosures made by William Howard Russell, the correspondent of the *Times*, filled the English people with indignation and shame. No scandal touched them more than the condition of the hospitals, due largely to the professional touchiness of the medical staffs, who kept Lord Stratford in the dark as to their requirements.[1] They soon overflowed with the victims of cholera, scurvy, dysentery, and fever, who were practically left to perish. Between the beginning of November and the end of February nearly 9,000 men died, and the daily average of sick was not much under 14,000 patients. Happily Miss Florence Nightingale and the first batch of nurses arrived at Constantinople on November 4, and they were followed by another band under Miss Stanley. Though her duties were at first confined to giving information to Sidney Herbert, the secretary at war, as to the more pressing requirements, Miss Nightingale soon acquired control over the hospital management. Order and cleanliness were introduced; additional accommodation was provided through the representations of Lord Stratford to the Turkish government; and a sufficient number of doctors arrived from England.

As day after day passed and Sebastopol still held out, the public in England, while exerting itself to supply the troops with necessaries, was looking about for some object on which to vent its resentment. The ministry was regarded, and with justice, as being lethargic in its conduct of the war, and Aberdeen's doleful utterances, in particular, brought him much unpopularity. Russell endeavoured to simplify the unwieldy system of military maladministration by proposing that the two offices of secretary for war and secretary at war should be combined, and Palmerston, instead of the Duke of New-

[1] Lane-Poole, *Stratford de Redcliffe*, ii., 376.

castle, who was merely painstaking, placed at the head of the remodelled department. He could get no support from the cabinet, and Palmerston himself was unwilling to undertake the increased responsibility.[1] Nothing was done, therefore, and the government prepared to meet parliament with the knowledge that it had lost the confidence of the country, and was weakened by personal antagonisms. Prince Albert became once more the subject of hostile criticism in the press, though it was mainly through his urgent advice that an army of reserve was formed at Malta.[2] He also presided at a meeting which resulted in the establishment of the patriotic fund for relief of the orphans and widows of soldiers, sailors and marines who fell in the war. In January, 1855, he submitted to the cabinet a comprehensive plan of military reform, containing a recommendation of "camps of evolution in which the troops should be concentrated and drilled together during a portion of the year," which was ultimately adopted at Aldershot.

The Aberdeen ministry was destined, however, to last but a few days longer. When parliament met on January 23, 1855, having adjourned after a brief winter session from December 12th to the 23rd, in which bills had been passed for the enlistment of a foreign legion and for enabling the militia to go for garrison duty to Malta, Gibraltar, and Corfu, hostile notices of motion rained on the government. The most formidable was Roebuck's for the appointment of a select committee "to inquire into the condition of our army before Sebastopol, and into the conduct of those departments of the government whose duty it has been to minister to the wants of that army". Next day Russell resigned because "he did not see how the motion could be resisted". He thus countenanced the worst that could be said against the ministry of which he had been a member; and for the moment it seemed possible that the government would fall to pieces without waiting for Roebuck's attack. However they met the house, and a two nights' debate ensued, prefaced by a singularly ineffective explanation of his conduct from Russell. Lord Stafford moved the assembly by describing the heart-rending scenes he had witnessed in the hospitals at Balaclava and Scutari, and the government stood defenceless against the

[1] Walpole, *Russell*, ii., 231.
[2] Martin, *Prince Consort*, iii., 170; *ibid.*, pp. 185-92.

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censure of Bulwer Lytton and Disraeli. When the house divided there appeared for Roebuck's motion, 305; against it 148; majority 157. All parties were taken by surprise, and "instead of the usual cheering, there was a murmur of amazement, ending in derisive laughter".[1]

The resignation of the ministry was made public on February 1, and there were parting recriminations, Newcastle appearing to advantage in a dignified defence of himself against the charge of incapacity obliquely brought against him by Russell. The country remained without a cabinet for nearly a week. The queen's first summons was to Lord Derby, but though his party mustered about 250, he regarded it as deficient in administrative ability. He entered therefore into communication with Palmerston, Gladstone, and Sidney Herbert, offering to Palmerston the leadership of the house of commons, which Disraeli was willing to surrender. By the next day he found that he could only depend on their "independent support," which, he told the queen, reminded him of the definition of an independent member of parliament—one who could not be depended upon. The queen next had recourse to Lord Lansdowne, who declined on the score of age and gout, after he had made the astute suggestion that the opposition of Russell and his friends might be silenced by letting that statesman discover that he could not form a government. Russell accepted the task with alacrity, but not a single one of his old colleagues would consent to serve under him. The queen then sent for Palmerston, *l'inévitable*, as he styled himself in his private correspondence; and on February 4, as first lord of the treasury, he set about the difficult task of forming an administration.

[1] *Annual Register*, xcvii., 1855, p. 20.

CHAPTER VI.

DIPLOMATIC DIFFICULTIES AND THE TREATY OF PARIS.

PALMERSTON came into office with the idea of reconstructing the coalition cabinet rather than of forming an entirely new administration. Thanks to the good offices of Aberdeen, he was able to obtain the support of the Peelites, though they joined him with reluctance. With the exceptions of the ex-premier, Newcastle, and Russell, the cabinet was practically identical with its predecessor, the chief addition being Lord Panmure as secretary for war. But the insecure alliance lasted barely a fortnight. Palmerston failed to stave off the appointment of Roebuck's committee, whereupon the Peelites, Graham, Gladstone, and Sidney Herbert resigned on February 22, affecting to regard the proceeding as a fatal weakening of the executive. They were promptly replaced by Sir G. Cornewall Lewis, Vernon Smith, and Russell, who had already been appointed plenipotentiary at the Vienna conference, as chancellor of the exchequer, president of the board of control (Sir C. Wood migrating to the admiralty), and colonial secretary respectively. The results of the inquiry of the Roebuck committee failed to bear out the apprehensions of the Peelites. The committee sat, almost continuously, from March 5 until June 18, and finally, Roebuck's proposals having been rejected, adopted a report drafted by Lord Seymour, afterwards Duke of Somerset, in which the late administration was blamed in safe generalities for having made "no provision for a winter campaign," while the Crimean expedition was described as "planned and undertaken without sufficient information and conducted without sufficient care or forethought". The perplexed public was finally persuaded that nobody was culpable —only the system, with the treasury, as, perhaps, the most

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lethargic department. These faults were to a certain extent remedied by abolishing the board of ordnance and the secretary at war, and concentrating the whole civil administration of the army in the secretary for war, and the military administration in the commander-in-chief. That appointment was filled in September, 1856, by the Duke of Cambridge in succession to Lord Hardinge.

Throughout the winter the allies had been slowly sapping towards the defences of Sebastopol, which were as persistently strengthened and extended by the genius of Todleben. With the approaches from the north still open, the garrison could also be reinforced at any moment. On February 2, the Russians seized and fortified a portion of Mount Inkerman, thenceforth known as the White Works, and on March 10 the isolated hill which became famous as the Mamelon. Nevertheless, as the climate became milder, the situation rapidly improved. The allies had been strengthened on January 26 by the arrival of 15,000 Piedmontese. The reinforcement was the result of the agreement by which the King of Sardinia became a party to the convention between France and England. The Italians could not be said to have much direct interest in the war; but Cavour, the astute minister of Victor Emmanuel, wished to secure a status for his country at the congress which would ultimately conduct the peace negotiations. On February 16, too, the Russians were easily repulsed when they descended on Omar Pasha, who was entrenched at Eupatoria, the Turks proving once more their fine quality when fighting behind lines.

The unexpected death of the tsar Nicholas on March 2, of paralysis of the lungs, appeared to have removed a great obstacle to peace. According to his famous saying there were two generals who would fight for him, *Janvier et Fevrier*. But in the latter month came the defeat of Eupatoria, and it was generally believed that this blow, inflicted by the despised Turks, had hastened the tsar's end. His dying message to the King of Prussia was: "Tell my dear Fritz to continue the friend of Russia". His son and successor, Alexander II., could exercise, however, but little of his father's personal influence over the courts of Berlin and Vienna. He announced his intention of consolidating his empire "in the highest degree of power and

glory," a phrase which could only mean that he would accept no detrimental peace. A few days later Nesselrode, in a circular to the Russian diplomatic agents abroad, stated that his sovereign would join the deliberations of the Vienna conference "in a sincere spirit of concord". A conference had appeared possible ever since Austria, on December 2, had executed a treaty with France and England, bringing her diplomatically into line with the allies. As bases of negotiation the western powers had elaborated the four points, and they had been accepted in principle by Prince Gortchakov, the tzar's minister at Vienna. They were: (1) the abrogation of the Russian protectorate over Moldavia, Walachia, and Servia, which were to be placed under the collective guarantee of the five powers; (2) the freedom of the navigation of the Danube; (3) the revision of the treaty of 1841 so as to put an end to the Russian preponderance in the Black Sea; (4) the renunciation by Russia of all claim to an official protectorate over the subjects of the Sublime Porte, while the five powers agreed to assist mutually in obtaining from the Porte the confirmation and observance of the religious privileges of the various Christian communities. CHAP. VI.

The proceedings at Vienna were unreal from the first, for Russia had not been sufficiently humbled to make her submit to the limitations which the powers sought to impose. Stratford de Redcliffe did not attempt to conceal his scepticism, and it was not until after considerable delay that the sultan sent a properly instructed plenipotentiary. The conference met on March 15, and on the first two points agreements were reached without difficulty. Of the third, the putting an end to the Russian preponderance in the Black Sea, Gortchakov would accept no satisfactory solution. He curtly declared that he would not consent to any arrangement limiting the strength of the Russian navy in those waters. On April 21 the conference was adjourned *sine die*, after Buol, as a last resource, had produced an elaborate scheme of counterpoise to be backed by a triple treaty of alliance between Austria, France, and Great Britain, engaging the three powers to defend the integrity and independence of Turkey in case of aggression. Russell and Drouyn de Lhuys considered the Austrian proposition acceptable, though it was open to Prince Albert's

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comment that the belligerents "did not wish to establish a case for which to make war hereafter, but to obtain a security on which they can conclude peace now".[1] They failed to persuade their governments, and Drouyn promptly resigned his portfolio as minister of foreign affairs. Russell wished to take a similar step, but he was dissuaded by the entreaties of Palmerston and Clarendon. He was thus placed at considerable disadvantage, when Buol gave his version of the story to the world in a circular issued to the representatives of Austrian diplomacy. Attacked by Milner Gibson on July 6, Russell made a weak defence, and on the 13th he resigned, after Bulwer Lytton had given notice of a motion that his conduct at Vienna had shaken the confidence of the house in the ministry.

There was nothing for it but to prosecute the war to a victorious conclusion. On the motion of Sir Francis Baring the house, while expressing its regret that the Vienna conference had not led to a termination of hostilities, felt "it a duty to declare that it would continue to give every support to her majesty in the prosecution of the war, until her majesty should, in conjunction with her allies, obtain for this country a safe and honourable peace".[2] Besides a loan to Sardinia, the governments of France and England agreed to guarantee the interest of a loan of £5,000,000 to be contracted by Turkey, but Palmerston only succeeded in obtaining the consent of parliament by a narrow majority of three votes, 135 to 132, Ricardo declaring that a revival of the old system of subsidies was calculated to excite "a deep and general feeling of suspicion, mistrust, alarm, and aversion".[3] In introducing his budget, Cornewall Lewis had previously explained that Gladstone's plan of meeting the expenses of the war out of the annual income had become impossible, and the latter expressed his agreement. Although the estimated income for the year was close on sixty-three millions and a half, the expenditure was calculated at nearly twenty-three millions in excess of that sum. Lewis proposed to meet the deficiency by raising sixteen millions on loan at 3 per cent., of which the whole had been taken at par by

[1] Martin, *Prince Consort*, iii., 263.
[2] *Parl. Debates*, June 8, 1855, cxxxviii., 1758.
[3] *Ibid.*, July 20, 1855, cxxxix., 1218-22.

Messrs. Rothschild and the Bank of England; two millions by adding twopence in the pound to the income tax, bringing it up to sixteen pence in the pound; and three millions by exchequer bills.[1] Though the details of these large proposals were criticised, they were passed with an alacrity which proved the nation to be intent on achieving the objects of the war. CHAP. VI.

A change for the better occurred before Sebastopol when Marshal Canrobert, a brave soldier but an irresolute general, asked on May 16 to be relieved of his duties as commander-in-chief of the French, and was succeeded by Pélissier, a man of stronger will. "I am quite determined," he wrote to Bosquet, "not to fling myself into the unknown, to shun adventures, and to act only on sound knowledge, with all the enlightenment needful for the rational conduct of the army." He proposed to extend his troops, so as to insure more room, health, and water, but, he added, "all this is only the prelude to an operation much more important and decisive in my eyes, the storming and occupation of the Mamelon and the White Works". Neil, who had become chief engineer, remonstrated in vain. At a council of war, Pélissier, in the presence of English officers, imposed silence on him "with indescribable harshness".[2] On May 3 an enterprise against Kertch had miscarried, because Canrobert, in pursuance of telegraphic orders from Paris, had recalled the French ships at the last moment. After Pélissier had assumed command, however, the attempt was resumed. An expedition, consisting of 15,000 men and five field batteries reached the straits in the early morning of the 24th. They captured and destroyed a great number of vessels engaged in transporting supplies, as well as vast quantities of corn, flour, and stores for the Russian army, now commanded by Prince Gortchakov, a cousin of the diplomatist. The shores of the Sea of Azov were completely cleared of provisions and forage, while at Taganrog, at the mouth of the Don, the flotilla covered the landing parties, which burnt an immense quantity of stuff. It was calculated that the expedition to Kertch and the Sea of Azov alone destroyed stores amounting to four months' rations for 100,000 men.

[1] *Parl. Debates*, April 20, 1855, cxxxvii., 1555-76.
[2] Rousset, *La Guerre de Crimée*, ii., 191-210.

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Turning a deaf ear to Napoleon's demands for an advance into the interior, Pélissier telegraphed to his master: "To-day I am going to see Lord Raglan, who shares my ideas, in order to settle the last dispositions for the attack by storm, which ought to place in our power the White Works, the Mamelon, and the quarry before the Redan. I calculate on beginning this operation on the 7th [of June] and carrying it through with the utmost vigour."[1] The siege batteries played on these defences all the previous day, reducing them to ruins. Under the inspiring influence of Bosquet, the French columns took the White Works and the Mamelon, and even advanced on the Malakoff, but were driven back with heavy slaughter, and almost lost the positions they had gained. The British took the quarries and held them against the rushes of the Russians. The assault on the main defences proved a much more dangerous undertaking. It was fixed for the 18th, and all the previous day the allies sent a crushing fire against the Russian works. Unfortunately Pélissier quarrelled with Bosquet and sent him off to the Tchernaya, replacing him by an officer who had no knowledge of the ground. He also changed his mind at the last moment, resolving to dispense with any preliminary cannonade and to attack at daybreak. The English artillery officers, who had felt confident of rendering the Russian batteries harmless in a very few hours, were much disappointed. A series of blunders and disasters followed. General Mayran, mistaking a signal, advanced too soon. The Russians, aided by their field-guns, maintained a tremendous fire from the ramparts and swept away the heads of the French columns as fast as they were formed. The British assaulting parties suffered very heavily, and the few who struggled on were brought to a final check before the Redan by the abattis at the bottom of the ditch. General Eyre, with some 2,000 men, alone succeeded in seizing and holding the cemetery at the foot of Green Hill. When, between seven and eight o'clock, the attacking columns were recalled to the trenches, it was found that the French had lost 3,500 men; the English, 1,500. The Russians were weakened by some 5,400 men.

This check told on Raglan's spirits, and on the 28th he succumbed to an attack of cholera. Though not a commander

[1] Rousset, ii., 232.

of genius, he had, as Pélissier well observed in his general order, "a calm and stoic greatness of character" which had enabled him to bear a heavy load of undeserved obloquy. He was succeeded by General Simpson, and the mining operations continued. Gortchakov, from without, made a last attempt to break through the attacking forces, falling upon the French and Sardinians on the Tchernaya on August 16. His troops were, however, driven off from the French lines with great slaughter. Having come to the end of his resources, he built a bridge across the harbour to facilitate his retreat, and made preparations for blowing up the forts and magazines. The allies anticipated him, however, and after three days' cannonade, the assault was renewed on September 8. Taken by surprise the Russians yielded the Malakoff to MacMahon, who valiantly held it against counter-attacks throughout the day. Though in other directions the French failed to press home their advantage, and Codrington's troops took the Redan only to lose it again, the Malakoff commanded all the surrounding works, and further resistance was useless. Gortchakov sank the remainder of the ships of war, destroyed every defence and magazine, and withdrew the garrison. On the 11th the allies were masters of the smoking ruins. CHAP. VI.

"Sebastopol," wrote the indomitable Gortchakov in his general order, "kept us chained to its walls; with its fall we acquire freedom of movement, and a new war commences, a war in the open field, that most congenial to the Russian soldier." He formed a vast fortified camp on the farther side of the Tchernaya, and, a spirit of caution having come over Pélissier, no serious effort was made against it. A success of some moment occurred, indeed, when a joint expedition, under the command of the French general, Bazaine, and covered by a combined naval squadron, took Kinburn, at the head of the estuary formed by the Dnieper and the Bug. Napoleon thought that it could be made the base of an advance movement, and the British government were eager for action, having raised the strength of the army in the Crimea to 51,000 men, of whom 4,000 were cavalry, besides ninety-six guns, a Turkish legion of 20,000, and a German legion of 10,000. But Pélissier and Vaillant were opposed to active operations in November, and their views prevailed.

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The Crimea had only formed a small part of the theatre of operations. The Greeks had shown a disposition to take the field against their hereditary enemy, and a savage partisan warfare had raged along the frontier during the early months of 1854, with the full connivance of the court and government of Athens. But fortune gradually turned against the irregular bands under the command of Grivas and Hadji Petros. The western powers, after announcing their intention of seizing all vessels carrying munitions of war, declared the whole of Greece to be in a state of blockade on May 18, and followed up the step by landing troops in the Piræus. The government were thereupon constrained to pledge themselves to a strict neutrality, and the complete defeat inflicted on Hadji Petros by Abdi Pasha on June 18 confirmed them in that judicious resolution.

In Asia Minor the Russians, though fewer in numbers, were opposed by a rabble army, under Zarif Pasha, a commander prone to retrograde movements. They advanced on Kars, and on the early morning of August 6, 1854, overthrew the Turks at Kuruk-Derè after a scrambling combat of about four hours' duration. Zarif Pasha displayed great cowardice, and the only regiments to make a stand were under the direction of General Guyon, a capable soldier, of English birth and Huguenot ancestry, who had played a distinguished part in the Hungarian war of independence. The Russian general, Bebutov, had he advanced rapidly, could have entered Kars without firing a shot, and have taken Erzerum itself without risking a battle. But his troops were worn out, and he had soon afterwards to weaken his forces so as to protect Tiflis against the raids of the Circassian chief, Shamyl. Kars therefore remained uncaptured, its starving and ragged garrison sheltered behind the half ruinous works. Fenwick Williams, the British commissioner at the headquarters of the Turkish army, reported that many of the troops were twenty-two months in arrears of pay, but he added that "their patience under so glaring an injustice was truly praiseworthy".

The Russians, now commanded by Muraviev, did not press the siege seriously until June of the following year, but their first attack, delivered on the 16th, was completely foiled. Throwing a cordon of Cossacks round the town, they next

proceeded to reduce it by blockade. Williams, who assumed command, had sent urgent applications to Stratford and Clarendon for supplies and reinforcements. Pélissier, however, was most reluctant to detach troops from the Crimea, and it was not until August that Omar Pasha was permitted to take a relief expedition to Redout-Kaleh on the Black Sea. Meeting with a stiff resistance, he advanced but slowly, and failed to accomplish his task. Meanwhile Williams had ordered his cavalry to cut their way through the Russian lines, an operation they accomplished, though not without loss. On September 29, starved though his men were, they repulsed a determined Russian assault. Then famine and cholera did their work, and Williams rode out perforce to Muraviev's camp to arrange terms of capitulation. Conditions of an honourable kind were granted him, and on November 28 the garrison marched out with the honours of war.[1] The fall of Kars caused great excitement in England, and at first a disposition prevailed to blame Stratford for neglecting Williams's requests. But Palmerston disproved the charge in a debate raised by Whiteside, whose motion of censure on the government was defeated by a majority of 127. The most flagrant culprit was Selim Pasha, the commandant of Erzerum, who, whether from apathy or cowardice, had failed to provision Kars, though the Russians gave him ample leisure for so doing.

Thus, while the Turkish defence in Asia Minor had broken down, the allies could only claim in Europe that the military game was drawn, in spite of such material successes as the capture of Sebastopol and the general exhaustion of Russian resources. These considerations turned the mind of Napoleon III. in the direction of peace, though but a few months before he had contemplated a campaign against Prussia on the Rhine and the liberation of Poland. He knew that the war was far from popular with his subjects, who were beginning to decry the English alliance. A visit paid by the queen and Prince Albert to Paris in August had kept him steady for a while, but after the fall of Sebastopol he began to lend an ear, not for the first time, to the blandishments of Austria and

[1] Sandwith, *Journal of the Siege of Kars; Parliamentary Papers*, 1855 (*Military Affairs in Asiatic Turkey*); Lane-Poole, *Stratford de Redcliffe*, ii., ch. xxxi.

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Russia. The Austrian government formulated certain proposals of peace which they agreed to send to St. Petersburg in the form of an ultimatum, with the intimation that, if they were not accepted, they would break off diplomatic relations. These steps the Emperor of the French took without consulting the British government, and when the terms were submitted by Walewski, then foreign minister, it was with a strong request that they should be adopted as they stood. The reply was that certain modifications were regarded as indispensable; the condition that the Black Sea arrangements should be comprised in a separate treaty between Turkey and Russia, for example, could not be entertained. Ultimately Napoleon promised to be no party to a peace of which England could not approve. To the tentative inquiries of the Bavarian and Saxon prime ministers, he returned oracular replies, hinting at the neutralisation of the Black Sea.[1] The Austrian ultimatum was despatched to St. Petersburg on December 16, its bearer Count Esterhazy being instructed to demand a favourable answer by January 18. After Nesselrode had attempted to extricate his master from his ignominious position by submitting counter-propositions which were promptly rejected by the western powers, the tsar accepted the Austrian terms as bases of negotiation. They were practically identical with the "four points" already mentioned, except that the neutralisation of the Black Sea to ships of war had been substituted for the limitation of the Russian strength in those waters.

When parliament met on January 31, 1856, the speech from the throne intimated that certain conditions had been agreed upon, through the good offices of the Emperor of Austria, which, it was hoped, might prove the foundation of a general treaty of peace. Derby criticised this statement of policy as "redolent of water-gruel," and as resembling those schoolboy themes which diluted with the largest possible amount of feeble and unmeaning language the smallest modicum of sense. At the same time he and Disraeli undertook not to embarrass the government during the impending negotiations. Their attitude faithfully reflected the feeling of the country which, while confiding in Palmerston's patriotism, looked less to the termination

[1] Bismarck, *Correspondence*, ii., 71, and Count von Beust, *Mémoires*, ii., 161.

of hostilities than to the continuance of a war that would redeem the discredit of military mismanagement and failure. The spirit of the nation had been roused, and it was in the mood to which Tennyson gave expression, when he wrote in his ecstatic conclusion to *Maud* that "The long, long canker of peace" was "over and done". It was noticed that during the debate on the address the Manchester school of radicals maintained a significant silence, though Roebuck, a radical of another kind, gloomily anticipated that the nation would emerge from the war with disgrace.

Clarendon took the post of chief British plenipotentiary at the peace conference, which met at Paris, chiefly out of consideration for the susceptibilities of Napoleon III. The queen sent Napoleon an autograph letter delicately reminding him that if a peace was concluded which did not satisfy the just expectations of both peoples, "complaints and recriminations would spring up, which could scarcely fail to disturb the friendly relations of the two countries, instead of cementing them more closely".[1] On his arrival in Paris on February 17, Lord Clarendon soon discovered that his path was full of difficulties. Shortly before his departure he had written to Stratford de Redcliffe that "the Emperor of Russia must be overflowing with generosity and self-abnegation if he offers good terms to people so ready to take bad ones as the French". On March 22 he summed up the situation thus: "the Emperor [Napoleon] wishes to make *le généreux* and *le gentleman* with the Russians, and Walewski takes his cue from that and regularly sides with the Russians. France has therefore no plenipotentiary in the conference, and Russia has three, and Cowley and I, as I always anticipated, stand alone, though I must in justice add that the Austrians have stood by us firmly and are much disgusted with Walewski."[2] Thus were grouped the powers with the chief voices in the settlement. Upon Prussia fell the punishment due to her persistent subservience to the tsar. She was excluded from the earlier deliberations, and it was not until March 18 that her plenipotentiaries were admitted to the discussions which resulted in the general treaty of peace.

The Russian diplomatists, Baron Brunnow and Count

[1] Martin, *Prince Consort*, ii., 441.
[2] Lane-Poole, *Stratford de Redcliffe*, ii.; 435.

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Orlov, made the most, as might be expected, out of the capture of Kars. They wished its retrocession to be conditional upon the abandonment by the allies of the surrender of Russian territory in Bessarabia. Thus "the efficacious assurance of the freedom of the Danube and its mouths" was endangered, and, in addition, the principle for which the allies had gone to war, the integrity of the Turkish empire, would practically have gone by default. Clarendon had determined to negotiate no treaty in which those terms were not secured, but he had great difficulty in carrying the French with him, both on those points and on the insistence upon an engagement that Russia should not again fortify the Aland Islands in the Baltic. He prevailed, however, and by March 10 he was able to announce to Palmerston that peace might be looked on as a *fait accompli*. Much divergence of opinion was developed, however, as to the futures of the principalities of Walachia and Moldavia. The Emperor of the French wished them to be united under a sovereign of their own choice, and Russia supported him, though not from his humanitarian motives. Perceiving that the step would be a preliminary to their independence, the Porte, Austria, and England objected to it, and in the end it was provided in general terms that they should enjoy internal self-government under the suzerainty of the Porte, and the guarantee of the contracting powers.

The treaty of peace was signed on March 30. Its conditions, stated briefly, were: (1) the mutual restoration by Russia and Turkey of territories occupied during the war; (2) the admission of Turkey to the public law and system or "concert" of Europe, and the recognition of the independence and territorial integrity of the Ottoman empire; (3) the acceptance of the Hatti-Humayan of February 21, 1856—a charter forced from the sultan by Lord Stratford—as an indication of the sultan's good-will towards his Christian subjects, with the understanding that "it cannot in any case give to the said powers the right to interfere, either collectively or separately, in the relations of his majesty with his subjects, nor in the internal administration of his empire"; (4) the neutralisation of the Black Sea, its closure together with the Dardanelles to ships of war, and the undertaking by Russia and Turkey not to maintain any arsenal on its coast; (5) the control of the navigation of the

Danube by an international commission and the rectification of the Russian frontier in Bessarabia, so as to exclude Russia from the banks of that river; (6) the independent administrations of the principalities of Moldavia and Walachia and of Servia under the suzerainty of the sultan and the collective guarantee of the powers. CHAP. VI.

Before the conference rose, the plenipotentiaries subscribed a statement dealing with maritime belligerency which is known as the Declaration of Paris. Under this instrument (1) privateering was abolished; (2) neutral flags were to cover the enemy's merchandise, except contraband of war; (3) neutral goods with the exception of contraband of war were not liable to be captured under the enemy's flag; (4) blockades, to be binding, were to be effective. England thus abandoned her ancient doctrine of the right of search, as strictly interpreted. The United States signified its agreement with the three last articles of the Declaration, but declined to abandon privateering unless all private property at sea other than contraband were made exempt from capture.

On April 8 Walewski invited his colleagues to exchange ideas on various subjects. Belgium was rebuked for the licence of its press, Naples for the oppressiveness of its government. Cavour, the representative of Sardinia, availed himself of the occasion with much dexterity by raising the whole Italian question, and in a comprehensive memorandum invited the powers to take it into consideration. They made no reply, but his action was significant.

Bourqueney, the second French plenipotentiary, epigrammatically remarked to Count von Beust, "When one reads the treaty of the 30th of March there is nothing to show which is the conqueror, and which the conquered".[1] "It is a peace," commented Metternich, "but not *la paix de l'ordre*."[2] Lord Derby interpreted the feelings of the country correctly when he said that he accepted the treaty without enthusiasm, but without opposition. It had undoubtedly failed to secure for the allies the advantages that a further campaign would have probably won, the weakening of Russia still further by the loss of Poland and Circassia. At the same time the nation became less eager for military enterprise when it learnt from

[1] Beust, *Mémoires*, p. 162. [2] Metternich, *Memories*, viii., 395.

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the lips of the chancellor of the exchequer that the war might be computed to have cost England, in three years, no less a sum than £77,588,000. They felt too that something had been secured, more especially as England, France, and Austria had by a separate treaty, signed on April 15, given their joint and separate guarantees to the independence and integrity of the Ottoman empire. The Russians quibbled disingenuously over the performance of the stipulations, declining to evacuate Serpents' Island at the mouth of the Danube or to accept the frontier in Bessarabia as marked on the maps before the conference, and even violating the letter of the treaty by destroying the fortifications of Kars. It needed all Palmerston's firmness to bring them to reason, and he received so little support from the French that he was compelled to administer a decided hint to Walewski that England would take her own line. Metternich was right; it was not *ld paix de l'ordre.*

After the Easter recess, the house of commons was in an acquiescent if not exactly an enthusiastic temper. Such credit as could be given to the conclusion of peace was attributed to Palmerston. And though the legislative results of the session were meagre, and the government was defeated on one or two important questions, it could not be said that when parliament was prorogued on July 29, the ministers were any weaker than they were on January 1. Lord Palmerston's popularity in the country, at all events, still ran high, as was shortly to be demonstrated. In the house of commons his majority was somewhat precarious, and he was unable to prevent the defeat of Russell's national education scheme, which was in many respects an anticipation of that of 1870. The bill went into committee, but the government, after two nights' debate, were beaten by a majority of 160 to 158.

On the 15th, Spooner, member for Warwickshire, moved that the house should consider the grants for the endowment of Maynooth, and carried his motion by a majority of twenty-six. He obtained leave to bring in a bill by a majority of seventeen, and when an attempt was made to prevent the second reading, the government, who supported the amendment, were beaten by a majority of six. The bill was intended to put an end to the Maynooth grant, but Spooner withdrew it the day after the last division, declaring himself quite

satisfied with the position of the question, "having had five divisions in his favour". Walpole's motion on Irish education was also carried against the government by a majority of ten. Constitutional issues of importance were raised by the Wensleydale case. Relying on precedents, ministers advised the queen to make Sir James Parke, recently a baron of the court of exchequer, a life peer. Their aim was to strengthen the appellate jurisdiction of the house of lords, which had to be recruited from peers who might be ignorant of the law. The peers loudly protested, however, against the intrusion of a life-member among the hereditary nobility. Lyndhurst searchingly opposed the letters patent, and in a powerful speech moved that it should be referred to a committee of privilege. It was found that no similar example had existed for 400 years, and though the government pleaded the maxim *nullum tempus occurrit regi*, they gave way before the report of the committee, and the peerage was conferred in the ordinary form.[1]

In the region of foreign affairs the Crimean war had left an after-swell, which affected British relations with the United States. The American government entered a formal protest against the abolition of privateering, on the ground that it would give an unfair advantage to those powers which had large standing navies. Lord Colchester in the house of lords moved a series of resolutions generally condemning the Declaration of Paris. A long and important debate followed, but the resolutions were defeated by a majority of forty-six. While the war with Russia was in progress, American citizens had enlisted in the British army. The United States government declared this to be a violation both of American law and international law; and though England made a full apology, the States were not pacified, and the dismissal of Sir John Crampton, the British minister, on June 18, created such a feeling in England that had not Palmerston, for once in his life, put *Civis Romanus* into his pocket, hostilities would certainly have ensued. He was strongly urged, as a retaliatory measure, to dismiss the American minister, Dallas, but a more cautious policy prevailed, and the difficulty was finally got over without a rupture. In the following year Lord Napier was received as minister at Washington.

[1] May, *Constitutional History*, i., 296.

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In consequence of the cruelties of the King of the Two Sicilies, and his disregard of the protests of both France and England, the French and English ambassadors were withdrawn from Naples on October 28, and a combined fleet of the two western powers was sent to the Bay of Naples. But these demonstrations made no impression upon the king, who knew that he was practically safe, as the fleets would hardly proceed to the extremity of bombarding Naples, especially when Russia had entered a counter-protest against the Anglo-French intervention, which was in direct violation of the principles laid down at the Paris conference. Nothing, in fact, was done; and the Bourbon dynasty continued its disastrous reign at Naples till 1860.

The autumn of 1856 found England involved in a war with Persia. The shah having laid siege to Herát, contrary to all treaty engagements, and, as Palmerston suspected, at the instigation of Russia, war was declared against him by Lord Canning on November 1, and on the 22nd a combined naval and military force under the command of Sir James Outram was despatched from Bombay. The Persians were defeated at all points, and on March 4, 1857, peace was signed at Paris, the shah retiring from Herát, and undertaking not to meddle with the internal affairs of Afghanistan. He also agreed to accept Great Britain as arbitrator in any disputes which might occur between himself and Russia.[1]

The budget of 1856 was introduced by Cornewall Lewis on May 19. After reducing the army and navy estimates by £17,000,000, he had still to face a deficit of £7,000,000, which was met by loans; so that, while no additional taxation was imposed, it was totally impossible to reduce the income tax, which stood at a shilling and fourpence in the pound, a great disappointment to the public, who had been led to believe that with the termination of the war the tax would be repealed. Two educational measures of some importance were passed before the end of the session. The Cambridge University bill effected some useful reforms, though it did not provide for the admission of dissenters to the university; and a minister of education was created under the name of the vice-president of the committee of council on education. The first step was taken

[1] *Parliamentary Papers*, 1857: *Correspondence Respecting Relations with Persia;* Sir James Outram, *The Persian Expedition.*

towards facilitating the retirement of bishops when disabled by age or sickness from the due discharge of their duties. They were not at that time entitled to pensions. But Blomfield, Bishop of London, and Maltby, Bishop of Durham, were allotted retiring allowances, the one of £6,000 a year and the other of £4,500; and in process of time a regular proportion of their incomes as a retiring pension was secured to all the bishops alike. CHAP. VI.

The year 1857 opened well. There was scarcely a cloud on the horizon. Yet it was destined to witness a fresh war and terrible struggles, a financial crisis of considerable severity, and the beginning of the most important of those social and religious changes which the last half of the nineteenth century witnessed. Before these events happened, Cornewall Lewis took the unusual step of introducing his budget at the beginning of the session. He took off the "war ninepence" from the income tax, lowering it from sixteen-pence in the pound to sevenpence, and this reduction made it impossible for him to effect any substantial remission of taxation on tea, coffee, and sugar. Gladstone, who described the budget in private as "the worst that was ever produced,"[1] declared that the relief to the tax-payer was illusory; and he and Disraeli combined in support of a resolution, very adroitly worded, calling on the house not to sanction the financial arrangements for the ensuing year till measures had been taken to provide against the risk of a deficiency in 1858-59. The house declined to look so far forward. Cornewall Lewis was regarded as a sound if not a brilliant financier, and on a division the motion was defeated by a majority of 286 to 206.

Events were now impending in Asia which caused to be neglected fiscal considerations. The first of these was the case of the *Arrow*, a "lorcha," or vessel partly English and partly Chinese in its rig. On October 8, 1856, while this vessel was lying at anchor off Canton, and according to some witnesses flying the British flag, she was boarded by a mandarin who carried off her crew as prisoners on a charge of piracy. The lorcha was owned by a Chinese merchant and, though commanded by an Englishman, the majority of the crew were

[1] Morley, *Gladstone*, i., 560.

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Chinese. It was the custom at Hong-Kong, where the British representative, who was chief superintendent of trade, resided, foreigners not yet being admitted to Canton, to grant registers to Chinese vessels, entitling them to certain privileges of trade, and authorising those which engaged in such trade to carry the British flag. They were granted annually, and the *Arrow* had obtained one, in September, 1855, which expired, it would seem, after twelve months.[1] On what ground, then, the *Arrow* claimed the protection afforded by the register does not appear, and in his speech in parliament Palmerston blinked the question. He preferred to rest his statement on a much surer ground, the insult offered to the British flag, which, he urged, Sir John Bowring, the British representative, was quite right to resent. He contended, first, that the *Arrow* was, for the time being, a British vessel, and secondly, that the Chinese had insulted Great Britain by hauling down her flag. Lyndhurst's speech[2] completely disposed of the first branch of the defence; and it seemed that the second, in that case, must go along with it. For if the lorcha was wrongfully flying a flag, it could be no insult to England to compel her to lower it. However, Bowring thought otherwise; he demanded an apology and insisted on the crew being released. On these demands being refused, Bowring directed Sir Michael Seymour in command of the British squadron to enforce them. Seymour in October seized the ports which guarded the approach to Canton. Commissioner Yeh, the Chinese governor of Canton, surrendered the crew, but Bowring determined to take advantage of the situation to make further demands on China, and required that free admission to the town of Canton should be granted to British subjects, a concession which, though embodied in several treaties, the Chinese had hitherto evaded. Yeh was obdurate, and in November Seymour bombarded Canton. The Chinese had recourse to reprisals, set fire to the foreign factories, and murdered a number of Europeans.

When the papers containing an account of these events were laid before parliament, Lord Derby, in the house of lords

[1] Wrong, *Life of Lord Elgin*, p. 91 *seq.*; Walrond, *Life of Lord Elgin*, ii., 209; *Parl. Papers*, 1859, *Correspondence Relating to Lord Elgin's Special Mission.*

[2] *Parl. Debates*, 1857, cxliv., 198-1200.

on February 24 and Cobden in the house of commons on the 26th moved votes of censure on the government. In the upper house the government secured a majority of thirty-six. In the commons on March 3 they were beaten by a majority of sixteen and Palmerston determined to dissolve. He had approved and defended the conduct of Bowring, and he went to the country with the popular cry that the servants of the crown placed in difficult situations in distant countries must be supported. He made the most of the honour of the flag and the outrages perpetrated by the Chinese. As usual he had shown himself a shrewd judge of the national temper. He was completely successful. The appeal to the people went triumphantly in his favour. The Peelites and radicals suffered disastrously; Cardwell was defeated at Oxford, Cobden at Huddersfield, Bright and Milner Gibson at Manchester, Fox at Oldham, and Miall at Rochdale. By the end of April the prime minister was able to meet the new house of commons with a majority of 70.

Lord Elgin in the meantime had been sent out to China in order to come to some satisfactory solution of our difficulties. But before his arrival there, news had arrived which turned men's minds in a different direction. The Indian mutiny had begun. When Elgin reached Singapore on June 3, 1857, the revolt was in full blaze, and he received an earnest request from Lord Canning, the governor-general, to send troops to India. He decided at once to divert to Bengal the force intended for China. In July he himself followed, and on August 5 he arrived at Calcutta. Sir George Grey, the governor of Cape Colony, also sent off in August two batteries of artillery, stores, horses, and £60,000 in specie. The 5,000 men and materials of war thus opportunely placed at the disposal of Lord Canning probably saved India.

CHAPTER VII.

THE INDIAN MUTINY.

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THE news that the Indian native army had broken out into revolt in the late spring of 1857 came upon England like a thunder-clap. There had been mutterings of the storm for some months past, and all through the earlier part of the year disaffection was rife at some of the Indian military stations, where mutinous demonstrations had occurred. But the true character of the danger was quite unknown at home and scarcely suspected in India itself.

Yet the state of affairs in the Asiatic empire might well have justified uneasiness. During the preceding few years India had been the scene of important events and critical changes; and new territories of large extent had been incorporated with the British dominions. After the dramatic close of the Afghan war Lord Ellenborough had turned to further conquests.[1] In 1843 the amírs of Sind were called upon to surrender their independent rule. On their refusal to comply, their country was annexed, after a successful campaign under Sir Charles Napier, and a brilliant victory against overwhelming numerical odds at Miáni. The seizure of Sind, which Napier described as "a very advantageous, useful and humane piece of rascality," was followed by intervention in the affairs of Gwalior. The internal politics of the Maráthá principality were in disorder, and the maharaja was at the mercy of a large and insubordinate native army. This force was defeated in two engagements and partly disbanded, and a body of native troops under British command, destined to play its part in history as the Gwalior contingent, was placed in cantonments near Sindhia's capital.

[1] *Supra*, p. 40.

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The next year the court of directors, alarmed by Ellenborough's adventurous policy, recalled him, and appointed as his successor General Sir Henry (afterwards Viscount) Hardinge, who held office from 1844 to 1848. The administration of this veteran soldier was no more peaceful than that of his predecessor; and the Indian government soon found itself involved in hostilities with the great Sikh confederacy of the Punjab. The Sikhs were a military and religious Hindu sect which had gradually become the strongest power in North-Western India. Under Ranjít Singh they established a kingdom which extended from Pesháwar on the west to the Sutlej on the east. On his death, the khálsa, or military council of the Sikh army, dominated the Punjab, and sought to extend its influence to British territory. Organised on a democratic basis, inspired by religious enthusiasm, and trained by capable European officers, whom Ranjít Singh had attracted to his service, this Sikh host proved the most formidable body of adversaries Britain has ever had to encounter in Asia. In December, 1845, the khálsa army, 60,000 strong, with a fine and powerful artillery, crossed the Sutlej, and the first Sikh war began. The invaders were opposed by Sir Hugh Gough, the commander-in-chief, and desperate and obstinately contested battles were fought at Múdki on December 18, Firozshah on December 21, and Aliwál on January 28, 1846. At Sobráon on February 10 Gough and Hardinge attacked the Sikhs strongly entrenched upon the banks of the Sutlej, and drove them from their position with great slaughter and the loss of sixty-seven of their guns. The Sikhs were defeated in what Hardinge described as a "series of the most triumphant successes ever recorded in the military history of India,"[1] a description scarcely justified by the facts; for the hard-won British victories, except the last, were by no means decisive and were far from impressing the enemy with a conviction of their military inferiority. They agreed, however, to modify their warlike organisation, and to receive a British resident at Lahore.

So little were the Sikhs discouraged by the campaign, that Hardinge's successor, the Earl (afterwards Marquis) of Dalhousie (1848-56), was compelled to resume operations against

[1] Governor-General's Proclamation, Lahore, Febr. 22, 1846.

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them. The second Sikh war began with local disturbances and an outbreak at Múltán; and presently the khálsa army came together again, and once more engaged the British. An indecisive battle was fought at Chiliánwála on January 13, 1849, in which both sides lost heavily. Gough was angrily attacked in England, and Sir Charles Napier was ordered out in haste to supersede him; but before he could arrive the commander-in-chief had retrieved his reputation and ended the campaign at Gujrát on February 21, where the Sikhs were completely defeated. Using his artillery with great skill and effectiveness, Gough was able to win this crushing victory with very little loss on his own side. The Sikh army was almost annihilated in the battle and the subsequent pursuit. The Punjab was annexed by a proclamation issued March 29, 1849, and placed under a commission of able officers, who not only disarmed and pacified the Sikhs, but contrived in the course of a few years to turn them into the most loyal and contented subjects of the British ráj in Asia.

Dalhousie was a vigorous and able ruler, who devoted himself with unsparing zeal to the interests, as he understood them, of the Indian people. His viceroyalty was one of annexation and energetic assertiveness; for he was impatient of the abuses of native rule, and he believed that the happiness of the subject populations could best be secured by placing them under direct British control. One of his important additions to the empire was that of Lower Burma in 1852. The country was badly governed by the King of Ava; European merchants were ill-treated, and the British remonstrances were contemptuously ignored. The province of Pegu was annexed by proclamation on December 20 to Aracán and Tenasserim, the conquests of the first Burmese war. An irregular campaign followed, which ended in June, 1853, with the concession by the king of freedom of navigation on the Irawády. Rangoon became the capital of British Burma, and began to make a rapid advance towards its present standard of population and prosperity.

Another annexation which attracted more attention at the time was that of Oudh. The Mohammedan wazírs or kings of this country, originally feudatories of the Delhi emperors, had for several generations displayed the worst vices of Oriental sovereignty. Their government was abominably oppressive and

corrupt, and at the same time so feeble that they would certainly have fallen before external attack or domestic rebellion, but for the support of the English. Their fertile and populous territory was in a state of chronic disorder and a prey to rapine, brigandage, and violent anarchy.[1] Dalhousie, somewhat against his own will, but pressed by the representations of the board of control and the directors of the East India Company, decided to assume the administration of the country. Colonel Outram, the resident at Lucknow, was instructed to inform the King of Oudh of the revocation of the treaty of 1801, which guaranteed him British protection, and to submit for his signature a new treaty of a more limited character. On the refusal of the king to accept this instrument, a proclamation was issued on February 13, 1856, declaring that "the government of the territories of Oudh is henceforth vested exclusively and for ever in the Honourable East India Company". The revenues of the country were thus at the disposal of the company, with the exception of an ample pension assigned to the deposed royal family; and Oudh passed under British administration to be subsequently incorporated with Agra in the lieutenant-governorship of the North-west Provinces.

Necessary and justifiable as these proceedings were, they roused considerable alarm among the Indian princes and great landowners. The Lucknow wazírs had given the deepest cause of complaint to their own maltreated subjects, but they had always been steadily loyal to the English, and many of the chiefs were alarmed and disturbed by the dispossession of these faithful allies of the paramount power. In the years that preceded the annexation of Oudh grave uneasiness had been caused by other developments of Dalhousie's policy. Anxious to lose no opportunity of transferring native territory to the company, and so extending the area of just and sound administration, the governor-general had made it known that he would regard a state as "lapsed" when there was a failure of natural heirs. This was entirely contrary to Indian law and practice, which gave the fullest recognition to the custom of adoption. In pursuance of his policy, the governor-general seized the territories of several of the Maráthá states, including those of Satára

[1] Sleeman, *A Journey through the Kingdom of Oudh in* 1849-50, *passim.*

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in 1849, and Jhánsi in 1853. By an extension or application of the same principle the adopted son of Bájí Ráo, the ex-peishwa, subsequently destined to an immortality of infamy as the Nana Sahib,[1] was deprived of the large pension which had been paid to the dethroned potentate from his deposition in 1818 to his death in 1853. Moreover, Bahádur Sháh, the representative of the Mughals, was informed that his successor would not be allowed to retain the titular dignities and the shadowy sovereignty in Delhi, which were still enjoyed by the head of the house of Timúr.

Thus some of the leading princely houses of Northern India, Hindu and Mohammedan alike, were smarting under a sense of wrong, and their agents were active in promoting discontent. Other causes contributed to the feeling of unrest, which was gathering strength, when Charles John, Viscount Canning, son of George Canning, succeeded Lord Dalhousie as governor-general in February, 1856. Recent western innovations, and more particularly the introduction of railways and the telegraph, had shocked and alarmed the natives, who were encouraged by the Bráhmans to see in these inventions an attack upon their religion. The fanaticism of the people and the priestly caste had been roused by the prohibition of *satí*, or widow-burning, the efforts to check female infanticide, the removal of legal obstacles to the remarriage of widows, the spread of European education, and the execution of Bráhmans guilty of capital offences.[2] Military officers in the British Indian service, inspired by an ill-timed zeal, had given much assistance to missionary enterprise, and had themselves endeavoured to make proselytes, going about "with the order-book in one hand and the Bible in the other".[3] Rumours were circulated that the government intended to compel the people to embrace Christianity by force or artifice, and to bring about the destruction of the entire social and religious fabric of Hindu society. To all this must be added that the English had suffered con-

[1] Properly Dandhu Panth Nana. For his memorial to the East India directors, asking that the decision of the governor-general should be reconsidered, see Kaye and Malleson, *History of the Indian Mutiny* (ed. 1888), i., 74.

[2] Lord Roberts, *Forty-one Years in India*, i., 414 *seq.*

[3] Kaye and Malleson, *Indian Mutiny*, i., 352.

siderable loss of prestige through the Afghan disasters of 1841-42, and subsequently through the Russian war, of which very misleading accounts had been circulated. In the early part of 1857 *chupáttis*, or flat cakes of flour, were passed on from village to village in Northern India, perhaps as a sign of preparation for a rising, perhaps only to sow vague suspicion in the minds of the people.

The ferment among the civil population would have been powerless for injury, if it had not extended to the contingents of trained native troops, on which British dominion in India mainly rested. The sepoy[1] armies had been increased in consequence of the recent annexations, and the European regiments diminished owing to the exigencies of the Crimean and China wars. At the beginning of 1857 the native troops amounted to 257,000 men, while there were only about 45,000 effective European soldiers of all arms in the whole of India. The disaffection was most acute in the Bengal army, which had for several years been in an unsatisfactory state of discipline. It was partly composed of Bráhmans and other high-caste men, who declined to render due subordination to their native officers if they were of inferior standing in the social scale. Nor were the British officers of this force always equal to their critical duties. Promoted by seniority, many of them were enfeebled by age and long residence in a trying climate; there were generals getting on for eighty, sexagenarian colonels, captains well over fifty. These elderly warriors, as events sadly proved, often broke down under the strain of sudden emergency. Some of the most capable of the younger men, like John Nicholson and Herbert Edwardes, had left their regiments to accept civil posts in the newly annexed provinces, or commissions in the irregular corps recruited for the frontier districts. If India was saved for the empire, it was largely through the genius and the daring energy of this band of officers and officials, trained and inspired by the two great Lawrences, Henry, chief commissioner of Oudh, and his younger brother John, head of the commission of the Punjab. Almost alone among the lead-

[1] The word should be written *sipáhi* according to the rules of orthography now officially recognised in the transliteration of Indian names; but in this, as in some other cases, the spelling consecrated by tradition and usage has been retained.

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ing administrators of India, Sir Henry Lawrence foresaw the approach of the revolt, and warned the government to prepare for it.[1]

The Bengal sepoys were much agitated by the events of the first year of Canning's rule. The annexation of Oudh had been followed by a land settlement, carried out with the customary legal pedantry which insisted on assimilating the Indian system of tenure to that of Great Britain. Many of the *tálukdárs*, or revenue collectors, who exercised ownership rights over the villages, were dispossessed. There was a general sense of insecurity, which reacted upon the Bengal regiments, largely recruited from Oudh. The sepoys were further perturbed by efforts to induce them to serve on the frontier, in Burma, and in other regions remote from their own homes, culminating in Canning's enlistment order of September 1, 1856, which prescribed that all native recruits should undertake to serve beyond the sea, "whether within or beyond the company's territories". This was regarded as another of the measures intended to break the caste of the Indian troops, and bring about their conversion to Christianity. The soldiers were rapidly drifting into that state of panic which is capable of driving Orientals to frenzy. Stories were circulated that the dust of human bones was deliberately mixed with the grain sold to the army by government contractors. And then came a rumour, more alarming than any other, which ran like wild-fire through the sepoy lines in the late autumn. The old Brown Bess musket was being replaced by the Enfield rifle, and then ew cartridges were lubricated in order to fit the grooves of the barrel. It was universally believed that these cartridges, which the men had to bite with their teeth, were greased with a mixture of cow's fat and pig's lard. Thus the soldiers of both religions were outraged by the thought of touching with their lips the fat either of the unclean pig or the sacred cow.[2] The government tried to allay the excite-

[1] Edwardes and Merivale, *Life of Sir Henry Lawrence*, pp. 564-65; 568.

[2] It seems that some cartridges lubricated with the objectionable composition had actually passed into the hands of the troops before the issue was checked by the authorities. The evidence is however conflicting. See G. W. Forrest, *Selections from State Papers in the Military Department of the Government of India*, i., 7, 8, etc. Kaye and Malleson, i., 359 *seq.*; and T. Rice Holmes, *History of the Indian Mutiny* (5th ed.), appendix W.

ment by publishing a chemical analysis of the cartridge-grease, and instructing the officers to assure the troops on parade that the defiling ingredients were not employed. But the sepoys were filled with terror and suspicion, and fit for any violence. Even then Canning and his council and the commander-in-chief, General Anson, saw no occasion for special anxiety. Stranger still, their blind indifference to the portents about them was shared by many of the officers commanding the native regiments, who retained (sometimes to the tragic close of their own lives) their pathetic confidence in the loyalty of their men.

Yet in that fateful spring of 1857 the danger signs were blowing thickly over the lowering skies of Northern India. The sepoys in many stations had refused to receive the new cartridges, and at Berhampur on February 25 there was an outbreak of open insubordination. The rulers of India were at length alarmed, as well they might be, for Bengal lay at the mercy of the native soldiers. Between Calcutta and Allahábád, 600 miles up the Ganges, there were no bayonets in English hands save only those of a single regiment at Dinapur. Another British regiment was hastily ordered back from Burma. By the time it arrived events were moving fast. At Barrackpur, the cantonment near the capital, the 34th Native Infantry were on parade, when a sepoy attacked the adjutant, while his comrades looked on and some even assisted him. General Hearsey, the commandant, acted with prompt resolution, and the mutinous corps seemed for the moment cowed. But the disorder spread; incendiary fires occurred in various cantonments; officers were insulted by their men; there were serious disturbances at Ambála; and one of the Oudh regiments in Lucknow made a mutinous demonstration, only to be at once disarmed by the commissioner and disbanded. Henry Lawrence had by this time fully grasped the situation; but the commander-in-chief made no effectual preparations to cope with it. The military revolt was imminent; but even then, if vigour and energy had been displayed, it might have been quelled at the outset.

Such qualities were conspicuously wanting when the disaffection first blazed into a flame of violent rebellion early in May, 1857, at Meerut, forty miles from Delhi. At this large

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station there were two native regiments of infantry and one of cavalry; but there were also a battalion of the 60th Rifles, a regiment of dragoons, and several batteries of European artillery. Unhappily the command of the district was held by General Hewitt, a hesitating veteran, painfully unfit to cope with the emergency which he now had to face. Eighty-five troopers of the 3rd Native Cavalry had refused to receive their cartridges on parade. They were tried by court-martial and ordered to be imprisoned Publicly degraded and stripped of their uniforms, in the presence of the whole garrison, they were then marched off to jail. This was on May 9, a Saturday. European Meerut, unconscious to the last, spent the following Sunday as usual; and as the hot afternoon waned towards the brief Indian twilight, the design which had been brooding in the hearts of the sepoys took shape. With arms in their hands they assembled in an excited mass before their huts. Some of the English officers, observing the commotion, rode across to the lines, and were shot down. Then began a night of terror and massacre. The sowars of the 3rd Cavalry dashed to the jail and set free their imprisoned comrades. The sepoys rushed across to the European quarter, and were joined by all the rabble of the native city. Officers, civilians, women, and children were assaulted and murdered, the defenceless bungalows were attacked, and the ruffians of the bazaar kept up the orgy of bloodshed and plunder till morning.

The mutineers went back to the lines, eager to make their escape from the scene of their crime. With deplorable weakness they were suffered to depart without a blow struck against them. The British troops were held inactive while the mutineers hastened through the night to Delhi; and the next morning their cavalry rode into that city, with the infantry following. They had marched on the wings of fear, never doubting that the tramp of English horse and the rumble of English cannon would speedily be heard behind them. But there was no one to do with the cavalry and horse artillery at Meerut what Gillespie had done with the dragoons and galloper-guns at Vellore half a century earlier. Hewitt was incapable of giving a decisive order; Archdale Wilson, his brigadier, was weighed down by the responsibility of protecting the stores and residents of Meerut, and he too kept the troops inactive. The

delay was calamitous. For though the conspiracy had been long preparing, it was without cohesion or unity. It is possible that if the Meerut rebels had been followed up at once and destroyed by the strong force in the European cantonments, the incipient rising might have been checked. At least it would not have found a centre in the old Mughal capital, which became a rallying place for many of the regiments of the Bengal army, as in swift succession they rose against their officers, and hastened to join their comrades in the imperial city.[1]

The revolt spread rapidly through all the north-western provinces and Oudh, into Lower Bengal and Central India. Its most conspicuous figures were the Mughal princes at Delhi; Nana Sahib at Cawnpore; his counsellor and coadjutor, Tántia Topi; the Ráni of Jhánsi, widow of the deceased maharaja of that state, who was deeply incensed because her adopted son had been deprived of the right of succession; and Kunwar Singh, a Rájput chief and landowner, who directed the troublesome guerilla warfare in Upper Bengal. Except at Delhi and Cawnpore, the rebels were not joined by the representatives of the older dynasties, or by the more important native rulers. The Nizám at Hyderabad stood by the English; so did the greater princes of Rájputána and Central India. Sindhia, the most powerful of the Maráthá potentates, remained loyal, against the pressure of his own troops and subjects, through the influence of his prime minister, Dinkar Ráo, and Charters Macpherson, the political agent at Gwalior. The rebellion scarcely touched Southern India, and the Madras army was able to spare some useful regiments, and its best officer, Colonel James Neill, for the campaign in the north.

But in the vast disturbed area, which extended from the alluvial plains of the Ganges delta to the north-west frontier, there were outbreaks and attacks upon Europeans everywhere, riots and disorders in the larger towns, and small sieges of isolated posts in which the English had sought refuge. Such was that of Arrah in Bengal, where a few residents with a handful of Sikh troops defended themselves in a billiard-room

[1] Lord Roberts suggests that Hewitt and Wilson had some excuse for not pursuing the mutineers, since their available cavalry, the Carabineers, were few in number, and largely consisted of recruits with unbroken horses (*Forty-one Years in India*, i., 90).

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against 3,000 irregulars under Kunwar Singh, who entrapped and nearly destroyed a rescuing force of 400 British and Sikh soldiers sent from Dinapur, but was himself completely routed and driven off by a much smaller body under Major Vincent Eyre on August 2. There were six main theatres of operations: Delhi; Cawnpore and Lucknow; the Punjab; Central India; the rural districts of Oudh and Rohilkhand; and parts of Upper Bengal and Behar extending to the Nipál frontier. The dramatic interest of the events connected with the sieges and reliefs of the great cities have thrown into the background the other episodes of the war; but the operations in the Maráthá countries were scarcely less important, and the guerilla campaigns in Oudh, Rohilkhand, and Behar were extremely prolonged and trying.

At first, however, Delhi was the critical point. When the Meerut mutineers dashed into the city, they made at once for the palace, that maze of rose-red courts and marble halls overlooking the shining reaches of the Jumna, where the princes of the house of Timúr kept up a phantom royalty with a vast retinue of retainers and disorderly dependants. Bahádur Sháh, the octogenarian king, was proclaimed emperor; the rabble of the city was roused; the commissioner, the commandant of the palace guards, and nearly all the other British officials and residents, male and female, were massacred, or made prisoners to be put to death a few days later. The native troops from the cantonments on the Ridge, outside the city, were marched down to the gates; but they too mutinied, and joined the rebels. Lieutenant Willoughby, with eight companions, held the powder magazine against a swarm of assailants, and then with splendid self-devotion blew it up and 2,000 rebels with it. Delhi was completely in the hands of the insurgents; and the revolted sepoys, many of them Hindus, were supporting the revived Mughal monarchy in the person of the feeble old "emperor," and his ambitious eldest son.

The governor-general, however little he may have perceived the danger while it was developing, acted with promptitude and vigour when he at length grasped its character and magnitude. He asked for large reinforcements from England, and 30,000 troops were got ready for embarkation at once; he summoned reinforcements to Bengal from Ceylon, Burma, and the southern

presidencies; he ordered back to Calcutta, as rapidly as possible, the troops under Outram set free by the successful close of the Persian war; and he took upon himself the responsibility of requesting Lord Elgin to land in India the regiments then on their way to China. "Yeh," he wrote, "may wait; but Bengal with its stretch of seven hundred and fifty miles, from Barrackpore to Agra, guarded by nothing but the 10th Queen's, cannot wait, if the flame should spread."[1] He retained his sense of justice even in the excitement produced by the outbreak; and he deprecated undue and excessive reprisals with the calmness that earned him the sobriquet of "Clemency Canning" from some less able than himself to temper with mercy the uncontrolled and natural resentment kindled in English hearts by the news of the first massacres. "I will not govern in anger," said Canning. On July 31 he issued an order, intended to check the summary executions of sepoys suspected of mutiny or of complicity in the murder of their officers.[2]

The commander-in-chief received urgent instructions to hurry all available troops to Delhi and the other threatened cities. But there were great difficulties. Transport was defective, roads were bad, and the only railway was a short line of 120 miles from Calcutta to Raniganj. The troops sent up from the coast just managed to secure Benares and Allahábád, Neill with his regiment of the 1st Madras Fusiliers rescuing the European residents and inflicting stern vengeance on the rebels. Anson collected between 3,000 and 4,000 troops at Ambála and marched upon Delhi, but died on the way on May 27. He was succeeded in the command by General Barnard, who reached Badli-ki-sarai, six miles from Delhi, on June 8, and found 30,000 of the rebels, strongly entrenched, to dispute his passage. The insurgents were defeated with the loss of twenty-six of their guns. Barnard's force, however, was unable to attempt the assault of the great city, with its vast circuit of massive walls and fortified gates, defended by a powerful artillery, and by many thousands of the trained sepoys, who were

[1] Lord Elgin deserves all credit for so promptly diverting to India the Chinese regiments; but it was Canning who suggested the transfer. See MS. Correspondence of Lord Canning, quoted by Kaye and Malleson, i., 441; and R. Garnett's paper in *Engl. Hist. Review*, xvi. (1891), 739.

[2] *Parliamentary Papers*, 1857-58, p. 94 *seq.*

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daily receiving accessions to their numbers. The British could only entrench themselves on the Ridge, and await reinforcements either from Bengal or the Punjab. On July 5, General Barnard died: he was succeeded by General Reed, and he, owing to ill-health, handed over the command to Archdale Wilson a fortnight later. Some further additions of native and European troops brought Wilson's force up to about 6,500 men. But it was still far too weak to attack the city, and could only cling grimly to the long, low, natural mound that lies just beyond the ramparts of Delhi, itself besieged rather than besieging, preyed upon by sickness and the fierce Indian summer, and constantly engaged in beating back the attacks of the rebels who swarmed out of the city against the little garrison of the Ridge.

Elsewhere the English were struggling against terrible odds. At Cawnpore the command was held by Sir Hugh Wheeler, a general of seventy-five. Believing in the fidelity of his sepoys and the loyalty of the Nana Sahib, who kept a kind of court at Bithúr, a few miles distant, Wheeler had been in no hurry to take adequate precautions for defence. When he did prepare to make a stand, he chose the wrong position. Instead of selecting the magazine near the river bank, a building easily fortified, he withdrew the European troops and residents to a rude and hasty entrenchment constructed near the barracks. It was a flat open field, with a low mud wall round it, and a few bungalows and other buildings inside. In this miserable enclosure nearly 900 persons, of whom 400 were women and children, were besieged on June 5 by several thousand mutineers and other armed natives, commanded by Tántia Topí under the Nana Sahib's direction. The defence, hopeless from the first, was maintained with desperate tenacity for three weeks: the women behaved as heroically as the men; and every attempt of the besiegers to carry the place by assault was baffled. But the garrison was wearing away under exhaustion, thirst, the heat of the sun, and the hail of bullets that swept over the low wall. On the 27th they entered into a capitulation with the Nana Sahib, who agreed to send them down the river under safe conduct to Allahábád. Deeds of treachery and bloodshed, almost unparalleled in their infamy and horror, were the sequel to this agreement. When the English reached the place of embarkation they were fired upon

by the Nana's troops, and many were killed as they endeavoured to push off into the stream. The male survivors, except two officers and two soldiers, who escaped to tell the tale of the siege, were brought back to the town and shot; the women and children were thrust into a small ill-kept prison-house, the Bibigarh, and spent eighteen days of terrible privation and suffering before the end came. On the night of July 15, when the relieving force was approaching, the armed ruffians of the Nana, his sepoys refusing to do the work, were sent among these women and children and hacked them to pieces. In the morning the doors of the slaughter-house were opened, and the bodies were thrown, "the dying with the dead,"[1] down a well near by. CHAP. VII.

The despairing garrison of Cawnpore had in vain sought help from Lucknow, for there also the English were themselves in dire extremity. Sir Henry Lawrence, who had long foreseen the rising, was prepared for it; and he knew that if no other place were attacked the old capital of the kings of Oudh was certain to become a core of the rebellion. The residency, a substantial building of brick and stone, with its outlying tenements, was entrenched and fortified. At the end of May the Oudh regiments revolted, and all the outlying stations passed into the hands of the enemy. Lawrence, with the English residents and troops to the number of about a thousand, and some 700 faithful sepoys and native pensioners, after fighting an unsuccessful action at Chinhat, retired into the residency on June 30. Two days afterwards Henry Lawrence, the statesman, soldier, and saint, who asked only that it should be recorded of him that he had "tried to do his duty," was mortally wounded by a shell. The command passed to General Inglis, who maintained the defence in the spirit of his predecessor. For eighty-seven days the garrison held out against a host of besiegers, at one time computed at 60,000 men. The area of the enclosure was small, and the bazaar of the city came close up to its walls, so that the assailants were able to fire right down into the residency grounds from the roofs and upper rooms of the native houses. They were well supplied with cannon, and their batteries were worked at the shortest range by trained

[1] Inscription on the Memorial at Cawnpore.

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sepoy artillerymen, while skilled engineers drove covered ways close to the defences and mines under them. But all the assaults were repelled by the garrison, which never faltered or lost courage, weakened though it was by the enemy's fusillade and by the ravages of disease. They had counted on being relieved by the end of July; but it was not till September 25 that a British force appeared in Lucknow, and when it did come it was not strong enough to raise the siege.

The relieving column was commanded by Henry Havelock, a fine soldier, who in forty-two years of varied service had never yet found full opportunity for displaying his powers as a strategist and a leader of men. Recalled from Persia, he landed at Calcutta on June 17, and was immediately sent up the country in command of the column designed to relieve the cities of Hindustan. On the 30th he reached Allahábád, and a week later he started for Cawnpore with a body of 1,500 European infantry and some volunteer cavalry, which had been preceded, a week earlier, by an advance detachment under Major Renaud, with 300 Sikhs and 400 of the 84th and Neill's Madras Fusiliers. The march in the hot season with inadequate transport was toilsome and costly. On July 13 Havelock's first battle was won at Fatehpur, where the rebels were scattered, losing eleven of their guns; and they were again defeated in two actions on the 15th. Havelock pressed on, and wearied as his soldiers were they marched fourteen miles that night, and the next day encountered the Nana, with over 5,000 men and eight guns, drawn up to dispute the entrance to Cawnpore. Havelock had no more than 1,100 infantry, 300 Sikhs, and a handful of the cavalry volunteers. His troops were fainting with fatigue, and some of them died of sunstroke and exhaustion on the field of battle. But the British soldiers had heard rumours of the Cawnpore butcheries, and nothing could stop them. They carried the enemy's guns and drove the sepoys before them in a furious rush. The Nana fled; and Havelock's wearied followers tottered into Cawnpore, to look down into the well where the still uncovered bodies of the 200 murdered women and children met their gaze. It was too late to save them—not too late for signal vengeance. Some of those who had taken a prominent part in the massacres, high-caste Bráhmans and Mohammedan officers, were forced by Neill under the lash to clean the

blood from the walls and floors of the Bibigarh, and then executed. CHAP. VII.

But there was little time to linger in Cawnpore either for revenge or for repose. On the 20th, Havelock, with twelve guns and 1,500 men, of whom 1,200 were Europeans, marched out towards Lucknow. He defeated the rebels in two engagements, but his small force, weakened by cholera and dysentery, had to fall back without getting into touch with the beleaguered residency. Further unsuccessful attempts were made on August 4 and 11, and on the 16th at Bithúr, 4,000 of the sepoys, whom the Nana Sahib had rallied, were routed. On the 29th, however, the exhausted garrison had to receive a letter from Havelock telling them that he had no hope of reaching them for another twenty-five days, and advising them to perish sword in hand rather than negotiate.[1] In great depression, and suffering much from the miseries of the siege, sickness and hunger,[2] the garrison yet held out for another month. On September 15 Sir James Outram arrived in Cawnpore with orders to take over the command from Havelock; for the government of India, if it could not support its officers, knew how to supersede them.[3] The supersession was unaccompanied by one word of acknowledgment for the heroic energy with which Havelock and his minute army had fought against the marauders of Oudh, the rebel sepoys, fever, cholera and the sun. Outram, "the Bayard of India," was more generous than his employers. He issued a divisional order the day after his arrival at Cawnpore, in which he waived his superior rank, left to Havelock the command of the column for the relief of Lucknow,[4] and intimated his own intention of accompanying the force in his civil capacity as chief commissioner of Oudh, tendering his military services to Havelock as a volunteer.

Havelock's and Outram's army, reinforced by two British regiments and two batteries of artillery, was 3,179 strong

[1] Marshman, *Memoirs of Sir H. Havelock*, p. 383.

[2] Rations had been reduced, though there was in fact a sufficient supply of grain, unknown to Inglis, to sustain the garrison for months. See General Innes, *Lucknow and Oudh in the Mutiny*, pp. 146-49, etc., and Innes's personal statement to Mr. T. Rice Holmes given by the latter in his *Indian Mutiny* (5th ed.), p. 279.

[3] Kaye and Malleson, iii., 345; but see also Forrest, *Indian Mutiny*, ii., 5.

[4] Sir F. J. Goldsmid, *Life of James Outram*, ii., 221, 222

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when on September 20 it again crossed the Ganges and marched along the familiar northward road through Oudh. On the 23rd the relievers were in the suburbs of Lucknow. It took two more days of hard fighting, and much loss of life, including that of General Neill, before they could force their way through the swarming streets of the great city to the bailey guard of the residency, see the shot-riven banner of England still waving from the tower, and amid a scene of tumultuous emotion at length enter the enclosure. But the relieving force, diminished by the loss of 700 men since it left Cawnpore, was unable to bring away the women and children through the city and suburbs, still held by a horde of rebels and mutineers, directed by the fanatical Mohammedan maulvi of Faizábád, who showed considerable military skill. The investment continued, but the reinforced garrison was now able to occupy a much larger extent of ground adjacent to the residency; and though constantly attacked by sap and mine, it was well able to hold its own until finally relieved by Sir Colin Campbell nearly two months later. Outram was content to remain quiescent, knowing when he entered Lucknow that Delhi, the heart and centre of the rebellion, had already fallen.

Through the long summer the British troops outside the Mughal capital held their position on the Ridge. Too weak at first to do more than beat back the sorties from the city, they were gradually reinforced. The most valuable assistance came to them, not from Calcutta but from the north. The Punjab, newly annexed and inhabited by a warlike population and half-tamed tribesmen, was administered and defended by the ablest body of officers and civilians in the British Indian service, with John Lawrence at their head. There was great danger of a Sikh rising, and of an attack from the frontier clans and the Afghans. Even Lawrence hesitated for a moment, and was disposed to hand over Pesháwar to the Amír Dost Muhammad in return for his assistance, withdraw the British frontier to the Indus, and send down every available bayonet and sabre to the relief of Delhi. But Herbert Edwardes, John Nicholson, Neville Chamberlain, Montgomery, and Sydney Cotton, the ardent and daring spirits of the border province, argued for a bolder policy, and they were encouraged by the governor-general, who bade Lawrence "hold on to Pesháwar

to the last". The plan of action, settled in council, two days after the receipt of the news of the Meerut outbreak, was carried into effect.[1] The Punjab was strongly held; the mutinies of the sepoys at the principal military cantonments were energetically suppressed; the arsenals at Phillaur and Ferozepur were secured; help was accepted from the loyal Rajas of Patiala, Jhind, and Nabha, who put their Sikh troops at the disposal of the government; and Nicholson, whose commanding personality exerted a magnetic influence over the natives, swept through the country at the head of a movable column, sternly suppressing disorder. The first of the Punjab reinforcements, the Guides, a fine corps of frontiersmen, left Mardan three days after the Meerut mutiny, and entered the camp before Delhi on June 9, having marched at the rate of twenty-seven miles a day for three weeks.

On August 14, Nicholson at the head of a strong body of the Punjab troops arrived on the Ridge. The operations there had gone on slowly; men and officers suffered severely from sickness, and General Wilson had seriously thought of abandoning the siege altogether. Nicholson infused fresh energy into the besiegers. Their force now amounted to about 8,000 effectives (there were 3,000 in hospital), of whom 3,700 were British. Preparations for the assault were pushed on with some vigour, though still too slowly for the impatient spirit of Nicholson, who chafed at Wilson's dilatoriness and was "quite prepared," as he avowed, if the general still hesitated, "to appeal to the army to set him aside and elect a successor".[2] The long-delayed assault took place at dawn on September 14. The attacking parties were sent forward in four columns. The first led by Nicholson, stormed the breach which had been made by the cannon at a strong angle of the walls called the Kashmír bastion; the second attacked another breach at the water bastion; the third passed through the Kashmír gate which was daringly blown in by a small party of engineers under Lieutenants Home and Salkeld; and the fourth was to enter the city by the Lahore gate on the western side. This

[1] See Roberts, *Forty-one Years in India*, i., 66 *seq.*; L. J. Trotter, *Life of John Nicholson*, ch. xvii.; Bosworth Smith, *Lord Lawrence*, ii., 9, 44, etc.

[2] See Nicholson's letter to Lawrence of September 11 printed in Bosworth Smith's *Lord Lawrence*, and in Trotter's *John Nicholson*, ch. xxii.

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detachment was repulsed, but the others forced their way inside the line of ramparts. Nicholson determined that the Lahore gate must be captured from within, though the only approach to it was by a narrow lane, with sharpshooters firing down upon it from the windows of the houses and the parapet of the city wall. And here Nicholson himself was mortally wounded as he led his men to an unsuccessful attack on the gun which commanded the passage.

It was not till five days after the original assault that the Lahore gate was taken. Fighting their way through the streets, the assailants reached the palace and gradually mastered the city, though not before 1,145 officers and men had been slain in the process of capture. Bahádur Sháh, the puppet emperor, fled with his sons to the tomb of his ancestor, Humayun, six miles beyond the southern gate of Delhi. From this refuge he was taken, with a promise that his life should be spared, by William Hodson, a Punjab officer of reckless daring, who had done good service with a corps of irregular cavalry. The emperor was subsequently tried by court-martial for treason and complicity in murder, and deported as a state prisoner to Rangoon, where he died on November 7, 1862. On the day after his surrender, Hodson dragged out the Mughal princes from Humayun's tomb and was escorting them to the city when, fearing as he alleged that they would be rescued by the turbulent crowd of armed Mohammedan spectators, he caused them to descend from their palanquins and shot them dead with his own hand.[1] It was but one of many deeds of blood which conquered Delhi witnessed; for heavy indeed was the retribution that fell on the guilty city, and martial law, not always discriminating in its wrath, hurried hundreds of its citizens from their wrecked and pillaged homes to the gallows. Even Outram suggested that the rebel capital should be destroyed and left to desolation like the ruined Hindu cities beyond its walls.

The capture of Delhi and the first relief of Lucknow were

[1] G. H. Hodson, *Hodson of Hodson's Horse*, pp. xvi and xvii, and 224. Hodson's statement that the slaughter of the princes was justified by his situation was not accepted at the time or afterwards by those best competent to judge. See Bosworth Smith, *Lord Lawrence*, ii., 507; Roberts, *Forty-one Years in India*, i., 250.

the turning points of the mutiny war. After September the tide turned steadily. Reinforcements were pouring in, and the English gradually re-established their authority through one after another of the wide tracts of territory in which it had been shaken or destroyed. Much, however, still remained to be done, and there was hard fighting in store for the local troops and the regiments coming in from England and the foreign stations. The operations were now directed by a single mind. Early in July Sir Colin Campbell had been appointed commander-in-chief in India. He was an officer of sixty-five, who had seen much active service, and had distinguished himself in command of the Highland Brigade in the Crimea—a good soldier, methodical and judicious, if a little slow and at times overcareful. He reached Calcutta on August 17, and busied himself with the preparation of reinforcements for the north-west districts. Transport was still difficult, and it was not till November 1 that he was able to move from Allahábád towards the Oudh capitals.

On the 3rd the commander-in-chief arrived at Cawnpore. He had at his disposal about 5,000 men and thirty guns, including a naval brigade, under Captain Peel of the *Shannon*, and a column 2,500 strong, which had marched down from Delhi under General Hope Grant and dispersed the rebels at Agra. But other enemies were gathering from the south. The Gwalior contingent, the drilled force of native troops nominally in the service of Sindhia, had revolted, and were now under the command of Tántia Topí, the Nana's former minister, and the most able military leader on the rebel side during the entire campaign.[1] Campbell left a detached force to hold the bridge across the Ganges against the advancing Gwalior insurgents, and pressed on for Lucknow, believing, erroneously,[2] that Havelock and Outram were in much worse straits for supplies than was actually the case. On the 12th he arrived at the Alambagh, the outlying fort which had been held by Outram's detached corps since the first relief. But the progress of his force through the suburbs and the devious streets was slow

[1] With the possible exceptions of the Oudh maulvi and the Ráni of Jhánsi. Sir Hugh Rose thought that the Maráthá princess was "the best and bravest military leader of the rebels".

[2] See *supra*, p. 147, note 2.

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and difficult. The city was full of palaces, mosques, public buildings, and enclosed gardens, which were strongly fortified and had to be captured in detail. On the 17th the residency was reached, and by the 22nd the women and children had been removed, and the garrison withdrawn, with the exception of a force left behind to hold the Alambagh under Outram. Havelock died just as the withdrawal was accomplished on the 24th. No one of the heroes of the mutiny left a deeper impression upon the minds of his countrymen than this puritan soldier of sixty-two, who had prepared himself by a life of strenuous action, of profound study, and of religious meditation, for the opportunity which only came to him just before the close.

The commander-in-chief, with his convoy of women and children, and invalids, marched back towards Cawnpore, where he was badly needed. In his absence, General Windham, whom he had left in charge of the town, had been worsted in an engagement with the Gwalior mutineers; and an army of 25,000 men under Tántia Topí and the Nana now lay across the road from Lucknow. Campbell sent his sick and wounded and the women and children to Allahábád. On December 6, by which date his force, strengthened by reinforcements from England, reached a total of 5,000 infantry, 600 cavalry, and thirty-five guns, he attacked and completely defeated the rebels, scattered the whole Gwalior contingent in disorderly flight, and pursued them for miles from the scene of the engagement. Nana Sahib himself managed to escape; but his guns and baggage were taken, and many of his followers were driven into the river or cut to pieces in the pursuit. With Cawnpore once more in the hands of the British, the reconquest of the Doab was undertaken by Sir Colin and his lieutenants, and in the early days of January, 1858, the rebels were beaten in two engagements in this region, and the commander-in-chief was free to proceed in earnest to the pacification of Oudh, and the re-capture of Lucknow.

Upon that city the Oudh rebels were being gradually pressed back. Outram, who had held out against all their attacks in the Alambagh, was on their flank and rear; a Ghúrka army of 9,000 men, under Jang Bahádur, the staunch ally of the English in Nipál, was marching down upon them from the north: and General Franks, with a force of 3,000 Ghúrkas and

2,300 Europeans, was approaching from the east, after clearing the Benares division, and re-establishing British authority in the country north of Allahábád. On February 28, Sir Colin himself advanced from Cawnpore at the head of a powerful army which had been swelled by numerous drafts from Calcutta to 19,000 men and 134 guns. With Jang Bahádur's and Franks' contingents Campbell could dispose of over 30,000 troops; but his forces were none too large for the work before them. There were computed to be 150,000 fighting men in and about Lucknow, of whom nearly two-thirds were trained soldiers. The city was strongly fortified, barricades and bastions were erected in the main streets, and many of the houses were loopholed and equipped for defence. The series of assaults began on March 3, and was conducted along several different lines of advance. After the outer ring of works had been broken down, there was severe fighting in the streets, which continued for several days, while the fortified buildings were gradually battered in or carried at the point of the bayonet. Not till the 21st was the entire city with the citadel securely occupied. CHAP VII.

The capture of Lucknow, though it did much to re-establish British prestige, did not put an end to the disturbances in Oudh. By an unfortunate error, the best troops of the insurgent host had been allowed to escape from Lucknow with arms in their hands and so were enabled to resume hostilities in the rural districts. A miscalculation, even more serious in its results, was the publication during the last days of the siege of a proclamation by the governor-general on March 20 confiscating all the lands of the province, with the exception of those belonging to persons who immediately surrendered and could prove that they had not "murderously shed" English blood. This wholesale measure of sequestration, which exasperated the entire land-owning population, was gravely condemned by Outram and by John Lawrence, who urged that the time had now come for amnesty and lenient treatment. "No mutineer," said Lawrence, "ever surrenders; for directly he is caught he is shot or hanged." At home, too, Canning's proclamation was severely criticised. Lord Ellenborough, who had become president of the board of control, commented upon it in an angry and intemperate despatch which he sent out at

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once to the governor-general, and then allowed to be published. That the proclamation was a mistake was also the view of the new Derby cabinet, and Disraeli announced in the house of commons that its policy did not meet with the approval of her majesty's government, an opinion which after acrimonious discussion[1] was ultimately endorsed by the house of commons. Canning, however, though much mortified by this treatment, was neither compelled nor expected to resign. The directors of the East India Company passed a resolution of confidence in him, and Ellenborough retired from the board of control.

The hostile comments on the confiscation order seemed to be justified by its immediate consequences. Disregarding its limitations and concessions, the talukdars and barons of Oudh, and the chiefs of Rohilkhand and the neighbouring provinces, including many who had previously refrained from active participation in the revolt, now joined in the sporadic warfare which was maintained for several months after the fall of Lucknow. Scattered bands of the mutinous soldiery, armed clansmen, feudal retainers, and the *budmashes* or disorderly characters of the towns and villages, gathered round the Nana and other local leaders, and had to be followed up and dispersed in detail. In Behar a separate campaign was undertaken against the Rájput chieftain, Kunwar Singh, who gathered a large force about him, and gained several successes against British detachments. After his death on April 23, 1858, his followers kept up a harassing guerilla war, baffling the slow British columns by the swiftness with which they moved through the jungles. At the suggestion of young Sir Henry Havelock, who received the baronetcy his father did not live to enjoy, detachments of mounted infantry were organised to pursue the elusive bands, which were eventually hunted down and dispersed.

In Rohilkhand, where the Faizábád maulvi organised and led the defence with energy and determination, the commander-in-chief carried on operations on an extensive scale through the spring of 1858. On May 5, at the head of an army of 7,600 men, he defeated the rebels in a hard fought battle at Bareilly. A month later the maulvi was killed in an attack on a loyalist raja, and Campbell leaving Rohilkhand quiescent, was able

[1] For the debates in parliament on the Oudh proclamation and Lord Ellenborough's despatch, see *infra*, p. 167.

to set about the final pacification of Oudh. The task was long and arduous. The whole province was covered with fortified castles and strongholds, and was pervaded by detached bands of insurgents, amounting in the aggregate to over 100,000, with 30,000 or 40,000 of the drilled sepoys among them. Sir Colin went to work with systematic method, though with perhaps an excess of caution, and a neglect of those expedients by which alone it is possible for regular troops to cope effectually with a scattered and mobile enemy in a difficult country. The problem was not wholly dissimilar from that which the British army had to face, forty-three years afterwards, in South Africa. A series of "drives," to use the term current later, was arranged, and the province was swept by a number of converging columns acting in unison, which gradually cornered the rebels on the northern frontier. Many of them surrendered; others were driven into the pestilential jungles of the Terai or perished among the mountains of Nipál, where the inhabitants assisted the British troops to hunt them down. The Nana Sahib was among the last of the fugitives, and the English missed the satisfaction of sending this bloodthirsty and perfidious scoundrel to the gallows. He is commonly thought to have died of fever in the jungle, though it was long rumoured that he had escaped to Tibet, or was hiding in India.[1]

The operations in the north-west provinces employed Sir Colin Campbell (now raised to the peerage as Lord Clyde), with the largest European force in India, during the whole of 1858, and it was not till the early part of the following year that he was able to leave Hope Grant to complete the pacification of Oudh. Meanwhile a more exciting campaign had been carried on in the region south of the Jumna, under the leadership of Sir Hugh Rose (afterwards Lord Strathnairn), a general whose activity of movement and tactical daring were as conspicuous as the commander-in-chief's calculating caution. From the beginning of the mutiny there was great unrest in the Maráthá principalities. At Indore, though the Maharaja Holkar was himself loyal, like most of the greater chiefs, his troops mutinied

[1] See Holmes, *Indian Mutiny*, p. 534 n. Mr. Perceval Landon in *Under the Sun* (1906) gives reasons for believing that Nana Sahib, by the connivance of Jang Bahádur, was allowed to live in concealment in Nipál, and that he may have been alive in 1885, or perhaps even later.

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in July, 1857, and murdered the European and Eurasian inhabitants. The resident, Colonel Durand, marched through Malwa with a small column, inflicted several defeats upon the rebels, and succeeded in maintaining the English foothold at Mhow, through the autumn and winter. More formidable was the rising in Bandelkhand. At the western extremity of this district, Ganga Bhai, the Ráni of Jhánsi, in the weeks immediately succeeding the outbreak at Meerut, induced the sepoy troops and populace to rebel, seized the fort, put to death the Europeans, and caused herself to be proclaimed ruler of the territory which under Dalhousie had "lapsed" to the company. Stirred by the example of the fiery Maráthá princess, most of the chiefs of Bandelkhand declared against the English, and the whole province was in great disorder. There were mutinies of the sepoys at Ságar and Jabalpúr; the disturbance extended into the Deccan, and only the firmness and swift resolution of Major Davidson, the British resident at the court of the Nizám, aided by the loyal co-operation of the minister, Sálar Jang, kept the great city of Hyderabad, with its hordes of armed Mussulmans, from joining the insurrection. There was one critical moment on July 17, 1857, when a violent mob assembled to attack the residency; but the Madras regiments stood firm, and a volley of grape from the guns of their artillery saved Southern India from sharing in the revolt.

To subdue the Central Indian rebels it was decided that a column of Madras troops should march from Jabalpúr across Bandelkhand to Bandu; and that a Bombay force should simultaneously advance from Mhow through Jhánsi to Kalpi on the Jumna, to which place Tántia Topí's levies and the remnants of the Gwalior contingent had withdrawn after their defeat at Cawnpore. Sir Hugh Rose arrived at Indore to take command of the Bombay column on December 16, 1857. Two regiments of European infantry, and one of European cavalry were included in a command which all told was well under 5,000 men. On March 21, 1858, the column arrived before Jhánsi, where, behind the precipitous rocks and frowning granite walls of the fort, Ganga Bhai had established herself with nearly 11,000 armed followers. The fort was fiercely bombarded for several days. When the ramparts had been sufficiently battered, Rose determined to assault. But on the

31st Tántia Topí, with 22,000 mutineers and rebels, appeared a few miles in the rear of the besiegers. Leaving a part of his force to hold the garrison of the fort in check, Rose turned swiftly upon the new assailant, and in a dashing battle at Betwa, in which he made brilliant use of his cavalry, completely defeated him. Two days afterwards Jhánsi was carried by assault, and the Rání, with a few attendants, rode away to join Tántia Topí at Kalpi. Directing his march upon that place, Rose again came upon the rebel leader and on May 1 inflicted a second severe defeat upon him at Kunch, and shattered as his troops were from marching and fighting in the sun, he followed the retreating enemy close and pressed on to Kalpi. Tántia Topí marched out to meet him; and on the 22nd there was another severe battle. The skilful use of his cavalry and guns again gave Rose the victory. Kalpi was occupied, and both Rose and the commander-in-chief believed that this phase of the campaign was at an end.

But the undaunted Rání had an audacious scheme in reserve. She persuaded Tántia Topí to retire to Gwalior, where, as she knew, the disaffected population and the Maráthá leaders were with difficulty kept by Sindhia and his minister from joining the insurrection. The loyal maharaja marched out to oppose Tántia Topí, but his army went over to the rebels; he himself had to flee to Agra; and Tántia Topí and the Rání entered his capital, seized the fortress, the treasury and the arsenal, and proclaimed the Nana Sahib as peishwa amid the acclamation of the populace. Rose, reinforced by some troops from the south and east, marched, as rapidly as the heat and the condition of his soldiers would permit, into Sindhia's country. On June the 17th, one of his detached columns under Brigadier-General Smith appeared to the south of Gwalior, and beat back a fierce sally by the garrison. In this engagement the young Marátha heroine, whose fertile brain and valiant heart had cost the English so many lives, lost her own. Dressed like a man, the Rání of Jhánsi charged with the cavalry of the Gwalior contingent, and was killed in the rout by a sword-stroke from a trooper of the 8th Hussars. Two days afterwards Rose won another battle and then entered the city, and his troops stormed their way up the steep and rugged cliffs from which the mighty fort towers above the plain. Tántia Topí, with the Ráo Sahib,

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the brother of the Nana, and the bravest of his followers some thousands strong, with thirty guns, fled towards the deserts of Rájputána, hotly pursued by the British. The chase was long; for Tántia Topí, with a constantly diminishing company of followers, doubled and twisted in front of the pursuing columns, and he was not captured till April, 1859. He was tried by court-martial, and hanged on the 18th; for his courage and indomitable resolution could not save him from the doom he had earned by his participation in the infamies of Cawnpore.[1]

The war was over; but there was much to be done and many marauding bands to be followed up and dispersed before order was restored, and civil government and public security gradually re-established in the disturbed districts. The process was not complete till the close of the year 1859, and by that time the government of India had undergone a sweeping change. According to the popular rumour current in the bazaars before the mutiny the rule of the company was destined to end on the hundredth anniversary of the battle of Plassey, June 23, 1757. As a fact it lasted a little more than a year longer. On August 3, 1858, the India bill of the Derby cabinet was passed, and the East India Company ceased to be the body nominally responsible for the government and the protection of 200,000,000 of Asiatics.[2] And on November 1, 1858, the queen's proclamation announced to the people of India that the territories, possessions, and executive powers of the company had been transferred to the crown. The proclamation declared that the government would henceforth be carried on by the viceroy in the name of the queen; that all treaties and engagements made by or under the authority of the East India Company would be observed; that "no extensions of our present territorial dominions" would be sought; that the rights, dignity, and honour of the native princes would be respected; that full religious toleration would be maintained; and that neither race, creed, nor colour would impose any legal disability upon the queen's Indian subjects, nor debar them from opportunities of suitable employment in the public service of the empire.

[1] For the closing stage of Tántia Topí's career, see Holmes, *Indian Mutiny*, p. 551, where some points are given from the unpublished papers of Sir Richard Meade; and Kaye and Malleson, v., 250 *seq.*

[2] For the provisions of the bill and the transactions in parliament which preceded it, see *infra*, p. 167.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE TRANSITION CABINETS.

THE verdict of the constituencies in the general election of the spring of 1857[1] seemed to give Palmerston a free hand to deal with the Chinese question on the lines he had already laid down. As soon as affairs in India allowed ministers to turn their attention to the matter, they proceeded to make fresh representations to the Chinese authorities, no doubt expecting either a pacific solution or a prompt submission in face of the warlike measures which Great Britain was now prepared to undertake. In this expectation they were disappointed. The difficulties with China continued throughout the remainder of the existence of the ministry, and outlasted that of its successor, nor were they finally disposed of till after Palmerston's return to office in the summer of 1859.

By September 20, 1857, Lord Elgin, after his excursion to India, found himself again at Hong-Kong. Concession to the British demands was still obstinately refused, and hostilities were inevitable. On December 28 the bombardment of Canton began and lasted nearly thirty hours. The French plenipotentiary, Baron Gros, directed the French admiral to co-operate cordially with Sir Michael Seymour. The city was in the hands of the allies by the middle of January, 1858, and was given up to pillage. Commissioner Yeh was taken prisoner; and then followed a short lull in the military and naval operations, while the proposals of the British and French commissioners were forwarded to Pekin. But no satisfactory answer was received, and Elgin determined to carry the war closer to the centre of the imperial government. The allied fleets were ordered to the Peiho, and the Taku forts, covering the

[1] *Supra*, p. 131.

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entrance to the river, were destroyed. Seeing that the hostile force was pushing up further and threatening the capital itself, the Chinese government yielded, and on June 26, 1858, Elgin was able to conclude a treaty at Tientsin, which in appearance conceded the more important of his demands, and allowed British consuls to be appointed at the treaty ports and a British resident to be stationed in Pekin. The peace was not destined to be permanent; and the treaty itself led to fresh disputes, which involved further warlike operations on a more extensive scale. It was not till more than two years after the Tientsin arrangement that the final settlement was reached.[1]

Before returning to England, Elgin found time to visit Japan. He there concluded a treaty which secured some privileges for British subjects. But the real interest of his visit lies in the impression which the country and its inhabitants made on him.[2] "A beautiful country, a moral people with habits of cleanliness and neatness, unspoiled by luxury or extravagance: a paternal government: a filial people: peace within and without: no want: no ill will among classes: this is what I find in Japan after one hundred years' exclusion of foreign trade and foreigners."

Both the country and the ministry were too deeply absorbed throughout the session of 1857 in Indian and foreign affairs to spare much attention to domestic legislation; one highly important reform was, however, accomplished. The great legislative measure of the year was the divorce act, creating a special court for the hearing of petitions, and thus placing redress for matrimonial wrongs within the reach of those who could not afford the expense of dissolving their marriage by means of a private act of parliament. A striking summing-up by Mr. Justice Maule in a bigamy case at the Warwick assizes in 1845, the report of a royal commission, and bills introduced in 1854 and 1856, had prepared the public mind for some such alteration of the law. The bill, especially that clause which enabled the guilty parties to marry again, was vigorously resisted by Gladstone, who was much influenced in the matter by Bishop Wilberforce, first on the second reading and then clause by

[1] See *infra*, p. 178.

[2] Lawrence Oliphant's *Lord Elgin in China and Japan*, and Waldron and Wrong's biographies of Lord Elgin.

clause in committee.[1] The number of speeches which he made in committee is said to have exceeded a hundred. But his efforts were in vain. Palmerston declared that the bill must be passed if the house sat till October, and passed it was. A petition for divorce was now, therefore, placed upon the same footing as any other civil action. To prevent abuse, the first decision of the court was to be provisional, confined to a decree *nisi*, taking effect by a certain date if the queen's proctor did not intervene. Proof of adultery was considered sufficient to secure the divorce of a wife, but a woman could not divorce her husband unless she could prove not only adultery but also cruelty or desertion. The clergy generally refused to recognise the religious validity of the act, and declined to marry a divorced person.

The close of the year was marked by a financial crisis, which had its origin in America, due to the over-issue of paper money. In October the bank of England raised its rate of discount to 8 per cent. But the crash came notwithstanding. On the 27th the Liverpool Borough Bank suspended payment. The example was followed by the western bank of Scotland. On November 9 the bank of England raised its rate to 10 per cent. The city of Glasgow bank and Messrs. Sanderson, Sandeman, & Co., closed their doors on November 11; and next day government was obliged to come to the rescue and suspend the bank charter act of 1844, thus enabling the Bank of England to increase its circulation by the issue of additional notes to the amount of £2,000,000 sterling. At the close of the day the reserve in the bank had sunk to £581,000. Confidence was restored; but serious and widespread suffering had not been averted, and the year ended gloomily enough with distress at home, rebellion still unsubdued in India, and fighting in the far east.

When parliament re-assembled for the session of 1858, it was felt that India had the first claim upon its energies. The government of the East India Company was believed to have been decisively tested and found wanting by the events of the previous year. There was a general demand, which few out-

[1] Gladstone also wrote strongly against the bill in the *Quarterly Review*. He subsequently republished his article in his *Gleanings*, vi., 106. See also Morley's *Gladstone*, i., 568-72.

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side the circle of the directors and their friends ventured to dispute, for the complete extinction of the company's territorial rights and executive powers. Palmerston therefore framed a bill intended to put an end to the dual government of India which had existed since 1784, to abolish the board of control, and to transfer the company's governing powers to the crown, or rather the cabinet. A council for India was to be established. The president was to be a member of the imperial government; the council was to be composed of eight persons, who had been directors of the company or civil or military officers in India, or had been long resident in that part of the world. The bill was opposed in an able petition presented to parliament on behalf of the directors and drawn up by John Stuart Mill, who perhaps forgot for the moment that he was a philosophic radical, and only remembered that he held high office on the staff of the monopolist corporation.[1] Mill opposed the proposed changes mainly on the ground that the old system had on the whole been successful, and that the one now suggested was experimental and dangerous, since it was likely to place the affairs of India at the mercy of the ministry of the day and the parties at Westminster.[2] The philosopher of the India House was answered by the philosopher of the cabinet.[3] Sir George Cornewall Lewis effectively traversed Mill's history and logic; and the popular feeling was with the government in desiring to extinguish the anomaly which allowed an immense empire to be under the direction of a body of traders. The motion for leave to bring in the bill was carried by a majority of 145 on February 18.

It was for the time Palmerston's last triumph. In the months that succeeded his great personal victory at the polls, he seemed at the height of his popularity and power, and might well have been tempted to a little of that arrogance by which, as the Greeks thought, successful men provoked the wrath of heaven. Certainly Palmerston displayed a good deal of the insolence of success at this period. His cynical levity was never more pronounced, and even at the crisis of the Indian peril he

[1] He was examiner at the India House, and one of the secretaries in the political department.

[2] The petition is given in full in *Parl. Debates*, cxlviii., Appendix.

[3] Paul, *History of Modern England*, ii., 140.

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had answered the urgent representations of the queen for the rapid despatch of troops by flippant raillery. With even more than his customary contempt for decorum, he conferred the privy seal, vacated by the retirement of Lord Harrowby at the close of the year 1857, on the Marquess of Clanricarde, a whig nobleman whose private character was notoriously bad. "Nothing," wrote Greville, "has damaged Lord Palmerston so much." His overbearing demeanour, and the ill-temper he now so often displayed, had gone far to impair his influence in the house, even with his own followers; while the tories and the Manchester liberals were as bitterly opposed to him as ever, and were always willing to sink their own rooted differences in order to assail the vigorous old statesman who had defied and baffled them so often.

His numerous enemies found the opportunity to bring about his fall before the Indian Bill came on for second reading. In the first month of 1858, a month which witnessed the marriage of the queen's eldest daughter to Frederick, eldest son of William, Prince of Prussia, the future German Emperor, there occurred a sudden and violent strain in the relations between the United Kingdom and France. On January 14 an attempt was made to assassinate the French emperor as he was driving with the empress to the Paris opera. Three explosive bombs were thrown at the carriage, and though its occupants escaped unhurt, some of the bystanders were killed and others wounded. The leading conspirator, an Italian named Orsini, was captured, tried, and executed. But it was known that the conspiracy had been planned by foreigners in London, and that the bombs were manufactured to their order at Birmingham. These two facts were quite sufficient to rouse French indignation to fever heat. England was required to renounce her right of asylum, and to alter her law of conspiracy. The demands were made in dictatorial and insulting terms by Count Walewski, the French foreign minister. Several colonels of French regiments presented addresses to the emperor, filled with offensive vapouring against England, and asking to be led to London that they might hunt down the assassins in their dens.

By these foolish outbursts the anger of the English people was provoked in turn, and on this occasion Palmerston failed altogether to respond to the popular sentiment. To the very

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intemperate despatch from Walewski of January 20, 1858, the foreign secretary, Lord Clarendon, sent no answer at all; and at the same time Palmerston introduced a conspiracy bill more or less in conformity with the French demands. The bill, making conspiracy to murder a felony punishable by penal servitude for life, was not in itself unreasonable; but the idea that it had been introduced at French dictation raised such a strong feeling against the government that when the bill came on for second reading on February 19 an amendment by Milner Gibson, which was practically a vote of censure, was carried by a majority of nineteen. Palmerston, who was always friendly with Louis Napoleon, and found his friendship very useful, probably thought it better to run the risk of defeat, which he hoped soon to retrieve, rather than to forfeit the support of an ally who, only the following year, was destined to do him excellent service. He trusted, besides, to secure the passage of the bill by making it known that Walewski had disavowed the language of the French colonels. But the prime minister had underestimated the public anger which had been roused by the arrogance of the French and by his own attitude; and the result of the division was received with satisfaction out of doors.

On Palmerston's resignation the queen sent for Lord Derby. But Derby had missed his great opportunity in 1855, and it was never repeated. He made proposals, as a matter of course, to his old colleagues, the Peelites; neither Gladstone nor the Duke of Newcastle would join him. Disraeli himself, when the board of control was vacated by Ellenborough, made a personal appeal to Gladstone.[1] It is clear that Gladstone had no insuperable objection at this time to acting with Disraeli, beyond, perhaps, the feeling that there was hardly room for both of them in the same cabinet. At any rate he refused the board of control which was pressed upon him. But his subsequent action seems to show that had Derby obtained a majority at the general election of 1859, Gladstone would have joined him.

By March 1 the new government was formed. Derby was prime minister, Disraeli chancellor of the exchequer and leader of the house of commons, Malmesbury foreign secretary, and

[1] The fact was made known in an authentic manner for the first time in Mr. Morley's *Gladstone*, i., 587, where Disraeli's letter of May 25 is printed.

Spencer Walpole again became home secretary. Lord Stanley, eldest son of the premier, was colonial secretary; Sir Frederick Thesiger, created Lord Chelmsford, became chancellor; General Peel was secretary-for-war, Sir John Pakington first lord of the admiralty, Lord Ellenborough president of the board of control, Joseph Henley of the board of trade, and Lord John Manners, first commissioner of public works. Lord Eglinton was lord-lieutenant of Ireland. The new prime minister on taking office had his hands full. Strained relations with France, the crisis in India, and standing hostilities with China, formed a serious array of business for a weak government to undertake. The prime minister, in a speech delivered in the house of lords on March 1, summed up the difficulties of the government with a clearness and fulness which covered the whole situation. He was mistaken in thinking that the difficulties with China would be settled speedily. But he was right in anticipating that the Emperor Napoleon would be only too glad to make up the quarrel over the Orsini incident. Walewski apologised, and explained away his brusque language. Persigny, the obtrusive and ill-mannered French ambassador, was recalled and succeeded by Marshal Pélissier, Duke of Malakoff; and though the acquittal by an English jury of a Frenchman named Simon Bernard, indicted for complicity in the Orsini murders, in which an Englishman had been killed, caused a temporary recrudescence of French indignation, the cloud blew over, and Lord Derby was left free to consider how he should deal with the Indian question.

Among the objections which had been urged against the India bill of the last government was that when a regular war —such as the contest in Asia had now become—was raging, the time was not suitable for changing the machinery of government. This was Lord Derby's own opinion; but as leave to introduce the bill had been carried by an overwhelming majority in the house of commons, he felt that he could not defer the consideration of the subject. Disraeli accordingly, on March 26, moved for leave to bring in a bill which is supposed to have been the work of Ellenborough. It placed the management of Indian affairs in the hands of a secretary of state who was to be assisted by a council of eighteen members, nine to be nominated by the crown and nine to be elected, four by holders

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of India stock and persons who had served in India, and five by the citizens of London, Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, and Belfast. These provisions with regard to the constitution of the council were recognised at once as impracticable and somewhat dishonest. Afraid to prolong the political and territorial prerogatives of the company, the government were anxious to give those who represented its financial interests a highly influential voice on the new board. The concession to the electoral principle was pronounced, even by radicals like Bright, to be the merest clap-trap; for the representatives of the great moneyed and mercantile communities of the United Kingdom would naturally be much more concerned for the interests of their own clients than for those of the peoples of India.

The bill was received with general disapprobation. The failure of their first important measure was so obvious and complete that it looked as if the Derby government would be wrecked at the very outset of its career. Such might have been its fate, if its adversaries had really desired to compass its downfall. But there was no unity for the moment in the ranks of the opposition, and nothing would have suited them less than to be compelled at this juncture to reassume office. They would with difficulty have found a leader; for Palmerston was still under his cloud of temporary discredit, was on very bad terms with Lord John Russell, and was more than ever disliked by the radicals. On patriotic, as well as personal grounds the liberals were unwilling to push the government to extremities; for it was felt, as Lord John Russell said, that it would be disastrous, with affairs in the east as critical as they were, to make an India bill an incident in the contest of parties. To save his own friends from the embarrassment of a victory, Russell suggested that before proceeding with the bill the house should, after the approaching Easter recess, lay down its principles in a series of resolutions. Disraeli gladly accepted the compromise and would have been willing even to allow Russell to frame the resolutions himself, a derogation from ministerial responsibility which the liberal statesman declined to support. The resolutions, as laid before the house by Disraeli, affirmed that the government of India should be transferred to the crown, that the powers of the company and the court of directors should be exercised by a secretary of state, assisted by a council of

not less than twelve or more than eighteen members, a majority of whom should have qualified by a statutory term of Indian residence or service, and that the council should be partly nominated by the crown, and partly elected by holders of Indian stock and persons who had served in India.

There was a general consensus of opinion in favour of the resolutions, and these were adopted as drawn up by the government, with the exception of the provisions as to election which were left purposely vague. The bill based on these propositions was read a second time on June 24, and became law on August 22. The control of Indian affairs was vested in a secretary of state, who was to be assisted by a council of fifteen, eight appointed by the crown, and seven by the court of direction of the old company. Subsequent vacancies were to be filled up alternately by the crown and by the council itself. In the bill as originally passed, several alterations have since been made. Vacancies are filled up by the crown alone; and members of the council, instead of being appointed for life, are appointed only for a term of years.

Between the introduction of the resolutions and the debates on the bill itself a curious episode occurred. In March, 1858, Lucknow had been taken, and in anticipation of this event, as already stated,[1] Lord Canning had drawn up the confiscatory proclamation addressed to the talukdars of Oudh, on which Ellenborough had commented in an angry letter. The despatch when published was generally condemned; and in spite of Ellenborough's resignation to save his colleagues, the opposition insisted upon throwing the responsibility for his action upon the cabinet as a whole. Lord Shaftesbury's vote of censure in the house of lords was defeated by a majority of nine. A similar motion in the commons, proposed by Cardwell, which at first seemed to threaten the existence of government, ended by strengthening their hands. After the news arrived from India that Sir James Outram heartily disapproved of the proclamation, member after member rose on the liberal side of the house to beg Cardwell to withdraw his motion, which finally, on the urgent advice of Palmerston, he consented to do. On November 1, the governor-general issued another and very

[1] See *supra*, p. 153.

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different proclamation, announcing that in future all acts of the Indian government would be done in name of the sovereign alone;[1] and before the end of the year Lord Clyde was able to announce that the rebellion was virtually extinguished.

Another of the late ministry's legacies in external affairs was successfully disposed of by diplomacy. The *Cagliari*, a Sardinian vessel with two English engineers on board, and manned by carbonari, who released some Neapolitan prisoners from the island of Ponza, was captured by a Neapolitan squadron. She was carried to Naples, and the crew, the Englishmen among them, thrown into prison. This occurred in 1857 when Clarendon was foreign minister. But he did nothing, and it was left to Malmesbury to compel Francis II. to release the Englishmen and to pay compensation to the amount of £3,000. The *Cagliari*, which had been arbitrarily confiscated, was surrendered to this country rather than to the Sardinian government. Malmesbury won a conspicuous diplomatic success.

The tentative *rapprochement* between Gladstone and the tory leaders was illustrated by the interesting mission to the Ionian Islands which Gladstone accepted in the autumn of 1858 The offer was made to him by Bulwer Lytton, prominent alike as novelist, dramatist, orator, and man of fashion, who had succeeded Lord Stanley at the colonial office. Gladstone's Peelite friends tried to dissuade him from accepting the high commissionership of the Ionian Islands. But on this occasion he disregarded their advice, and set out from England in the month of November, returning to this country in February. The islanders had set their heart on annexation to Greece, which was ultimately conceded to them in 1863, and were in no mood to listen to the envoy's admonitions on the merits of constitutional reform when the British protectorate, established in 1815, terminated. Gladstone's mission had produced no practical result; but it showed at least that he had no unwillingness to act with Lord Derby.[2] A like testimony had been given in the budget debates, in which Gladstone appeared as an advocate for the government, defending Disraeli's financial statement against the strictures of Cornewall Lewis. It was urged that in order to meet a deficit of £4,000,000, the chan-

[1] See *supra*, p. 158.

[2] Morley, *Gladstone*, i., 594-618.

cellor of the exchequer should have kept the income tax at the existing level rather than suspend the war and military funds and postpone the payment of exchequer bills. Gladstone was opposed to any dealing with the income tax which would be inconsistent with his own earlier promises, and he therefore actively supported Disraeli in taking off a penny.

A ministry without a majority of the house of commons behind it is supposed to be ineffective for legislation; but the Derby-Disraeli government during its short tenure of office accomplished a good deal. In this eventful session of 1858 the house removed one of the last remaining disabilities inflicted upon the race from which its leader had sprung by enabling Jews to take their seats in parliament. In 1847 Baron Rothschild was elected the colleague of Lord John Russell in the representation of the city of London, and in 1851 Alderman Salomons, another Jew, was returned. Both were held disqualified from sitting and voting so long as they declined to take the oath of abjuration, "on the true faith of a Christian". In 1858 Lord John Russell introduced a bill to give relief to Jewish members of parliament, which passed its first and second readings without a division; but in the house of lords the operative clause was struck out. The commons, therefore, appointed Baron Rothschild to serve on the committee to draw up reasons for disagreeing with the lords' amendments, showing that they regarded him as a member of the house though he had never taken the oath of abjuration.[1] The peers gave way, and agreed to a compromise by which either house was empowered to determine by resolution the form of oath to be administered to persons of the Jewish religion. The house of commons not only passed the resolution empowering Jews to take the oath in the modified form, but turned this into a standing order. Baron Rothschild took his seat on July 26. It was not till 1866 that both houses passed a bill, intended for the relief of Roman catholics rather than Jews, which provided a new form of oath for all persons, with the omission of the

[1] Spencer Walpole, *History of Twenty-Five Years*, i., 177. The leadership of the house in these transactions was taken by Russell. Disraeli gave him his support; but Sir Spencer Walpole points out that in the division on the motion to make Rothschild a member of the committee the names of members of the ministry are found on both sides.

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words that implied a belief in the doctrines of Christianity. This settled the question until it was revived in another form, fourteen years later, by a member who declared himself unable to take any oath at all on the ground that it would not be binding on his conscience.[1] Another reform of the same session was the abolition of the property qualification for members of parliament. The change had often been resisted both by the conservatives and the whigs. The government, however, did not now oppose the reform which was brought forward by Locke King, and the home secretary accepted the bill on behalf of the government as putting an end to a privilege which had become illusory.

In his address to the house of lords on March 1, 1858, Derby had announced his intention of introducing a measure of parliamentary reform; and the reform bill was the leading domestic topic of 1859. Both Derby and Disraeli thought it necessary to justify the introduction of the bill by a conservative government. Both assigned substantially the same reasons for it. Derby would have preferred to leave the act of 1832, faulty as it was, untouched. He saw no necessity for any further change in a settlement which the highest authority on the subject, Russell, had declared final. But that statesman, himself the leader of the old whigs, had re-opened the question. "I cannot exclude from my consideration," said Derby, "the fact that for three or four years not only has a demand been made but a promise has been given by successive governments of the introduction of a reform bill. This promise has been given occasionally even in the name of the sovereign, and in the speech from the throne." Disraeli addressed the house of commons in a similar tone. "Remember," he said, "that a reform bill has been twice brought forward by her majesty's government. Remember that only two months ago the attention of parliament was called to the subject in the gracious speech from the throne; and in my opinion, and in the opinion of those with whom I act, it is totally impossible that a question which has been introduced to the notice of the country by the proposition of the minister, and by recommendation to the consideration of parliament from her majesty herself,

[1] See *infra*, p. 322.

can any longer be trifled with." But there was little real or general desire at this period for extending the franchise; at least there is no evidence of a popular demand, though some of the liberal leaders affected to detect one.

On February 28, 1859, the reform bill was introduced by Disraeli. The two cardinal provisions were the equalisation of the town and county franchise, both being fixed at £10, and the restriction of the forty-shilling freeholder in boroughs to a vote for the borough in which he lived, depriving him of his vote for the county, which he had hitherto possessed in addition. There were besides certain "fancy franchises" (so Bright christened them), intended to provide for the representation of personal property, of education, and of the liberal professions. But the "disfranchisement" of the borough freeholder and the maintenance of the borough qualification were what the practised eye of Lord John Russell at once detected to be the vulnerable points in the bill; though in 1832[1] he had been willing himself to deprive the borough freeholder of his dual vote. Henley, the president of the board of trade, and Walpole, the home secretary, had previously retired from the government, dreading the "ugly rush"—the phrase was Henley's—which a uniform franchise would provoke, and the creation of electoral districts which they thought would be sure to follow.[2] Neither of these objections was logical; but they were plausible, which was much more to the purpose. It is not likely that uniformity of franchise between the towns and counties would have created an identity of interests leading to electoral districts. But Disraeli forgot that the idea of reform had long been indelibly associated in the public mind with the reduction of the borough franchise; that the restriction proposed to be placed upon the borough freeholders, however just in itself, was capable of being placed in a very invidious light; and that the hard and fast line which the uniform franchise would have drawn was sure to provoke exactly the kind of alarm that was felt by Walpole and Henley.

Russell opposed the bill with a skilfully drawn amendment, intended to catch both the whigs and the radicals, since it

[1] *Greville Memoirs*, iv., 276

[2] Sir Spencer Walpole in his *History of Twenty-five Years* supplies some original information on these resignations (i., 189-90).

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condemned interference with the freehold franchise in counties, and at the same time demanded a further lowering of the qualification in the towns. By this ingenious and somewhat unscrupulous device "Russell brought together Bright, who wanted democratic reform, and Palmerston who wanted no reform at all".[1] The amendment was debated for seven nights in a series of "Homeric battles," which called forth all the eloquence and energy of all the leading champions; for if there was little interest in the reform bill there was abundant interest, at least in the house of commons, in the fate of the Derby ministry. Neither the rhetoric of Bulwer Lytton, the fierce satire of Disraeli, nor the forceful argument and forensic power of Cairns, the solicitor-general, could save the government. At a quarter to one in the morning of April 1 the house went to a division, amid a scene of intense excitement; and with 621 members voting, Russell's resolution was carried by a majority of 39.

Three days after this defeat, Lord Derby announced that the cabinet had determined to recommend an appeal to the country. Some necessary business was hastily wound up, and parliament was dissolved on April 23. There has seldom been a quieter general election; for the public interest was concentrated on the conflict which was just beginning on the continent of Europe, and small attention was bestowed upon the party quarrel, while the Austrians were moving across the Ticino, while a French army was landing in Italy, and while Victor Emmanuel was calling his soldiers to arms. The reform bill in fact was already almost forgotten when the new parliament met, and the Derby cabinet sustained its final reverse on a question connected with the international situation. The conservatives had gained about twenty-five seats in the election; but when the house of commons reassembled on May 1 there was still a slight superiority of numbers in favour of the opposition. An hostile amendment to the address was moved by the Marquis of Hartington, the eldest son of the Duke of Devonshire. His amendment condemned the government partly on the inadequacy of their reform bill, partly on the failure of Lord Derby to prevent the war between France and Austria, and his

[1] Paul, *History of Modern England*, ii., 201.

alleged stimulation of it by the encouragement which he gave to Austria and the threats which (so Lord Palmerston said) he had used towards France. Probably neither of these charges would have been made had Lord Malmesbury's correspondence with the two powers been in the hands of members before the division took place.[1] The amendment was carried by a majority of 13, in a division, 637 including tellers, which was the largest up to that time recorded in the house of commons.

There can be little doubt that the Franco-Austrian war of 1859 was precipitated by the French emperor's fear of the assassination with which he was threatened by the carbonari, if he refused to come forward in the cause of a united Italy freed from Austrian domination. As it is evident that he was compelled to pick a quarrel, it matters very little how it was done. The plot was matured at a secret meeting between the emperor and Count Cavour at Plombières, on July 15, 1858, the French ministry being kept in ignorance. The emperor agreed to support Piedmont in a war against Austria, and Cavour in turn agreed to the transfer of Savoy and Nice to France. From new year's day, 1859, when the emperor at his reception pointedly expressed to Baron Hübner, the Austrian ambassador, his regret that the relations between the two powers had suffered a change for the worse, war was certain. It was precipitated by an ultimatum addressed by Austria to the Sardinian government demanding immediate disarmament.

The English court and government, though their sympathies were mainly Austrian, laboured earnestly for peace, taking their stand on the treaties of 1815. Lord Cowley, the British minister at Paris, was despatched to Vienna on a special mission which, for a moment, promised to be successful. But Cavour meant war, and Victor Emmanuel told the Emperor of the French that sooner than abandon the cause of Italy he would lay down his crown. Napoleon wavered, and, as a way of escape, fell in with the suggestion of Russia that the Italian question should be referred to a congress of the five great powers. The Cowley mission having failed, Malmesbury agreed to the proposal on conditions, and endeavoured to find

[1] *Memoirs of an ex-Minister*, ii., 189. Mr. T. E. Kebbel in his *Life of Lord Beaconsfield* says that Disraeli told him himself that the papers were not printed. See also the Duke of Argyll's *Autobiography and Memoirs*, ii., 139.

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terms which France would accept and Austria would not reject. A general disarmament seemed to him a feasible plan; and as Cavour's demand that Sardinia should be admitted to the congress was repugnant to Austria, he suggested that the Italian states should be heard at its deliberations without being allowed a voice in its decisions. The Austrian ultimatum ruined his well-intentioned efforts, just when he imagined them to be ripening into success, and he entered a warm protest against that proceeding. His diplomacy, necessarily conducted in ignorance of the compact of Plombières, had been straightforward, though lacking in insight.

Two days after the dissolution of parliament in England on April 23, the landing of the French army at Genoa took place. It has been suggested that the coincidence was not fortuitous; and that the beginning of the war was timed by Napoleon III. to occur when it would have the best chance of serving his well-wisher, Palmerston, by prejudicing the English people against the Derby government which had failed to avert hostilities. If so his action achieved the expected result. Lord Derby resigned after his defeat on Lord Hartington's amendment, and the queen in the exercise of her constitutional prerogative sent neither for Palmerston nor Russell, but for Lord Granville, thereby showing that she by no means felt herself bound to consult the leader of the dominant party which had settled its internal differences at a meeting held in Willis's Rooms.[1] Granville, however, found the task of forming a cabinet impossible, Russell having refused to serve under him unless he was given the leadership of the commons. Palmerston and Russell came to terms and the latter agreed to take office under the former. The queen then sent for Palmerston, who formed a ministry, with himself as its chief, and Gladstone as chancellor of the exchequer. Russell became foreign secretary instead of Clarendon, an arrangement which adorned the history of our foreign policy with that "rich harvest of autumnal indiscretions" over which Derby and Disraeli made merry for several successive years. Cobden declined office, but Milner Gibson entered the cabinet as president of the board of trade.

[1] Lord Fitzmaurice's *Granville*, i., 332-46, gives a complete account of this episode.

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The year 1859 is in many respects a turning point in our parliamentary history. Gladstone's acceptance of office under Lord Palmerston marked the final severance of the Peelites from the conservative party, and the abandonment of all hope of that reconstruction, to which both Derby and Gladstone himself had at one time looked forward. It was the parting of the ways, ultimately fraught with momentous consequences, both for good and evil, to the British empire. And it witnessed the commencement of an interval of political tranquillity or stagnation, for a parallel to which we must go back to the days of Lord Liverpool. Domestic politics had lost a good deal of their vitality owing to the recent confusion in the party system, and the want of living issues and serious questions of principle. Moreover, Englishmen were absorbed in following the course of international affairs, and in watching the great struggles and dramatic changes that were taking place abroad.

CHAPTER IX.

THE PALMERSTONIAN TRUCE.

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THE settlement agreed upon at Villafranca on July 11, 1859, between the Austrian and French emperors and confirmed by the treaty of Zürich in the following November, brought the Italian war to a conclusion, despite the victories of Magenta and Solferino, on very different terms from those which had formerly been stipulated. On March 17, 1860, the people of Central Italy decided for annexation to Piedmont; on the 18th the duchies were formally incorporated with the kingdom, and on the 24th Savoy and Nice were handed over to the French emperor. In England indignation grew apace; and ministers were accused of having kept back what they knew of these transactions, partly to please the French emperor who did not wish his designs to become known till the moment arrived for executing them, partly to conceal as long as they could the failure of their own diplomacy which now could only effect the unification of Central Italy by acquiescing in the plunder of the ally whose dominion they had undertaken to augment.[1] Through all the complicated negotiations and conflicting rumours which beset the historian of this period, one fact stands out clearly, and that is the attitude assumed by Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort. The important part which they played in preventing Prussia from making common cause with Austria, and their firmness and wisdom in rejecting proposals, which, though favoured by Palmerston and Russell, were likely to involve this country in a continental war, deserved, though it certainly did not obtain at the time, the gratitude of the nation.[2] On the other hand, the prime minister and foreign secretary, by insisting that the people of Central Italy should

[1] See the debate in the house of lords, April 23, 1860.

[2] Martin, *Prince Consort*, iv., ch. xcii.-xcvi.; v., xcvii.-c.

be allowed to decide their own destinies, were true friends to the cause of Italian unity.

Hostilities with China were renewed in the autumn of 1859. We have seen that Elgin returned to India in May of this year under the impression that on this particular act in the long Chinese drama the curtain had now finally fallen. He was mistaken. By the treaty of Tientsin of June 26, 1858, it had been provided that the ratification should be exchanged at Pekin within a year from the date of signature. But when the British and French plenipotentiaries attempted to proceed up the Peiho river for that purpose, they found the entrance blocked, and on June 25, 1859, Admiral Hope was instructed to force a passage. The fire from the Taku forts compelled him to retire; and an attempt to take them by storm ended in a disastrous repulse, with the loss of 460 killed and wounded. Nothing could then be done till the arrival of reinforcements from Europe; and it was more than a year before this humiliation could be retrieved.

In April, 1860, Elgin returned to the far east, and reached Shanghai at the end of June. On August 21 a renewed and successful attack ended in the capture of the Taku forts, and the way was opened to Tientsin and Pekin. The allied forces of French and English began the advance in the middle of September, but when they had arrived within striking distance of Pekin, a meeting was arranged with Chinese commissioners who promised to agree to Elgin's demands. In the meantime the war faction in Pekin had gained the upper hand; and when on the following day Lord Elgin sent forward a party to make final arrangements for the advance of the embassy and the army, four of its members were treacherously seized by the Chinese, and died in prison after undergoing the most excruciating tortures. Parkes and Loch, the other two members of the party, were also thrown into prison and suffered great indignities, but escaped the fate of their unfortunate comrades, though it was not till the capture and pillage of the emperor's summer palace showed the Chinese government what to expect if it remained obdurate, that they were released. Punishment had to be inflicted for the ill-treatment of British subjects; the summer palace was burned to the ground, and 300,000 taels exacted by way of compensation. Then at last

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the Celestial government gave way completely. On October 24, the treaty of Pekin was signed; a British minister was accepted; and thus ended three years of war and tortuous diplomacy, with the result of bringing China into more direct touch with Europe.

Languid as was the interest now felt in the subject of reform, it could not be quite forgotten that one of the charges against the late ministry was that it had failed to settle the question, and that Lord John Russell had given an undertaking to bring in a liberal franchise bill should his party be restored to power. Accordingly, on March 1, 1860, he redeemed his promise. His bill, after all, differed little in principle from Lord Derby's. It reduced the county franchise to £10, and lowered the borough franchise to £6; and it took away one member each from twenty-five small boroughs, and distributed the seats thus gained among the county divisions and the larger towns. The bill, however, was dead almost before it was drafted. It was read a second time, but withdrawn by its author on June 11 before it went into committee. The ministers had now washed their hands of the matter, and though it was brought forward again from time to time by private members, parliamentary reform was not again made a government measure during Lord Palmerston's lifetime.

The commercial treaty with France had better luck. With the cordial approval of Gladstone and the reluctant consent of Palmerston, a treaty was negotiated by Cobden in private audiences with Napoleon III. The French government undertook to reduce the duties on coal, iron, machinery, yarn, and hemp during the current year; and from October 1, 1861, to abolish the prohibitions, or reduce the duties, on all articles of British production. The treaty was approved by the house of commons on March 8, and by the lords on the 15th. Many objections were taken to it, notably to the impulse given to the exportation of what Derby called "an article of such vital and essential importance as coal"; and these were accentuated by the knowledge, then first imparted to the public, of the annexation of Savoy and Nice. But most people saw in the treaty a kind of guarantee for good relations with France, and this consideration was enough to turn the scale.[1]

[1] *Parl. Debates*, clvii., 163; Morley, *Cobden*, ii., 265.

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The great fight of the session was over the repeal of the paper duty, which was the leading feature of Gladstone's budget; a scheme which also remitted £1,190,000 of taxation in consequence of the French treaty, and nearly £1,000,000 by the abolition or reduction of duties on food, timber, and hops. It was opposed in the house of commons on the ground that the state of the national finances did not warrant the remission of the paper duty, which contributed about £1,000,000 to the revenue, as it formed so considerable a part of it. The opposition case was stated clearly and forcibly by Sir Stafford Northcote on the third reading of the budget bill, which the government only carried by a majority of nine. Palmerston, who had opposed the repeal in the cabinet,[1] then wrote to the queen: "This may probably encourage the house of lords to assert itself, and Viscount Palmerston is bound in duty to say that if they do so, they will perform a good public service". This was a stab in the back for Gladstone such as perhaps no prime minister had ever dealt to a colleague since cabinets came into existence. Palmerston's feelings were no secret; and Derby caused it to be made known to him that, if Russell, Gladstone, and Milner Gibson were to leave the ministry, he might rely on conservative support for the remainder of the session.[2] The lords threw out the bill by a majority of eighty-nine; and then the question arose whether they were not acting *ultra vires* in meddling with a money bill. Some formal protests were entered in a series of resolutions moved by Palmerston, but in language so favourable to the action of the lords that Gladstone felt himself obliged to reply to it. This he did in a manner which, in some circumstances, would have compelled his resignation. But Palmerston, though probably he would have been glad to get rid of Gladstone,[3] declined to accept the challenge. It is believed that the defeat of the paper bill by the house of lords "had no inconsiderable share in propelling Mr. Gladstone along the paths of liberalism".[4]

Palmerston's distrust of the French emperor after the annexation of Savoy was intense, though probably founded more on personal prejudice than on any facts in his possession. His letter

[1] Morley, *Gladstone*, ii., 31.
[2] Malmesbury, *Memoirs of an ex-Minister*, ii., 521.
[3] *Ibid.*, ii., 522. [4] Morley, *Gladstone*, ii., 35.

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to the Duke of Somerset, then first lord of the admiralty, expresses his own private conviction, but has little other evidence to support it. "I have," he says, "watched the French emperor narrowly, and have studied his character and conduct. You may rely upon it, that at the bottom of his heart there rankles a deep and inextinguishable desire to humble and punish England."[1] Whether sound or unsound, the people of England fully shared in this belief, of which Sir Charles Napier, alarmed by the fortifications at Cherbourg and the effect of steam on naval operations, had made himself the mouthpiece; and the great popularity of the volunteer movement, initiated by Lord Derby's government in 1859, was largely, if not exclusively, due to it. The government carried a national defence bill providing for an outlay of £9,000,000 on the fortifications of Portsmouth, Plymouth, Chatham, and Cork. Gladstone was strongly opposed to it, though he gave way in the end; but his hostility was the cause of Palmerston's writing another letter to the queen, in which he said it would be better to lose Gladstone than to run the risk of losing Portsmouth. How these two men continued to act together for six years, is one of the enigmas of political history. Gladstone's adverse opinion of Palmerston had been expressed so freely[2] that it is difficult to account for his remaining in the cabinet.

The complete consolidation of the Italian kingdom had still to wait a few years longer. Venice remained in the hands of Austria till 1866, and Rome, protected by French bayonets, remained under the government of the Church till 1870. But much work had been accomplished, and it was due in large part to the moral support of England. When Garibaldi with his "thousand heroes" went to the assistance of the Sicilian insurgents, Russell openly expressed his sympathy in the house of commons. When the dictator was preparing to cross the straits for Naples, the foreign secretary declined to fall in with the French proposal that the joint squadrons of the two governments should be sent to stop him. When the Austrian ambassador asked Russell to condemn the invasion of the papal states by the Sardinian army, he was told that, in the opinion of the British government, the best hope for Italy

[1] Ashley, *Life of Lord Palmerston*, ii., 190.
[2] *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, ii., 349.

lay in the success of the Sardinian army. Finally, in a characteristically doctrinaire despatch, Russell vindicated the Italian revolutionists and the assistance given them by the Piedmontese on the authority of the jurist Vattel. It is probable that the queen, with every desire to relieve Italy from the tyranny and misgovernment from which she was undoubtedly suffering, would have preferred some other settlement of the question involving a less violent invasion of prescriptive rights and long-recognised sanctions. Her reluctance to go all lengths with Palmerston and Russell, was a wholesome check upon the over-zealous temper of statesmen who, in the pursuit of their favourite ideals, would have risked a quarrel with two great military monarchies.

The session of 1861 witnessed one of Gladstone's great financial triumphs. In his budget he reduced the income tax from tenpence to ninepence, and again proposed the abolition of the paper duty. The opposition fought the question "to the last cartridge". Twice the government had a narrow escape. On Horsfall's proposal to abolish the tea duties instead of the paper duty, they had a majority of only eighteen, which subsequently in committee was reduced to fifteen. When the bill reached the house of lords it was found that by one of Palmerston's resolutions of the previous year, the peers would be obliged either to accept or to reject the budget as a whole, and Lord Derby shrank from the responsibility of a step which would have been productive of grave financial embarrassment.

The legislative record of the session independently of the paper duty is not a very important one. But a movement was begun in regard to education which had some fruitful effects. The Duke of Newcastle's commission was appointed in 1860 to inquire into the state of popular education in England, and the Clarendon commission in 1861 to inquire into the state of the great public schools. The result of the one was the famous "revised code" of Mr. Lowe; the report of the other did not appear until 1864, and the legislation of which it was the parent belongs to a later chapter. Some other measures which helped to relieve the session of 1861 from the charge of sterility must be shortly mentioned. The introduction of voting papers for the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin lent great additional influence to non-resi-

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dent graduates. The defeat, by the speaker's casting vote, of the annual bill for the abolition of Church rates, which had hitherto passed the commons by substantial majorities, was a marked sign of the conservative reaction which was in fact represented by Palmerston. Gladstone voted against the bill, and the prime minister in its favour. The bankruptcy bill, introduced and carried after a hard fight by Lord Westbury, did away with the distinction between bankruptcy and insolvency, and enabled non-traders to obtain the relief from which they had previously been excluded. It did not abolish imprisonment for debt, but it enacted that no debtor could be kept in prison for more than twelve months.

The autumn brought with it many troubles. It witnessed an ill-fated expedition to Mexico, undertaken by France, Spain, and England conjointly for the protection of European subjects during the civil war then raging there, and also to enforce payment of the Mexican bonds. President Juarez satisfied England and Spain, but as soon as he saw through the real design of the French emperor, which was to occupy the Mexican capital and establish there a government of his own, and perhaps to fulfil his long-cherished dream of founding a great Latin dominion astride of the central American isthmus,[1] he prepared for war. England and Spain withdrew from the expedition in May, 1862; and the unfortunate Archduke Maximilian of Austria was persuaded by Napoleon in 1864 to become Emperor of Mexico. The tragic end of this disastrous episode is well known.[2]

The United States had declined the invitation to join the three powers in bringing pressure to bear on Mexico. Apart from their reluctance to assist in coercing the neighbouring republic, the Americans were occupied with more serious matters. In the spring of 1861 the civil war between the northern and southern states had fairly begun, and in the autumn its consequences began to make themselves felt in Great Britain. The first was the affair of the *Trent*. In the month of November two commissioners were despatched by the southern confederacy to the courts of St. James's and the

[1] De la Gorce, *Hist. du Second Empire*, iv., 13.

[2] When the Mexican Republic was restored, Maximilian was shot by order of a court-martial on June 20, 1867.

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Tuileries respectively, to enlist the sympathies of the English and French governments and to obtain if possible more material assistance. They embarked at Havannah on board a British mail steamer, the *Trent*, on November 8, and the next day the vessel was boarded by a Federal warship, the *San Jacinto*, commanded by Captain Wilkes, who took the two commissioners, Slidell and Mason, out of her, and carried them away prisoners. The British government at once demanded their surrender and an ample apology for the insult to the British flag. Before the answer could be received the cabinet ordered a brigade of guards to be immediately embarked for Canada. Had it been left to Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell to settle the question, war would almost certainly have broken out. But here again, as in the case of Italy, the sovereign, acting on the advice of the prince consort, came to the rescue. The prince pointed out that the difficulty might be surmounted without any wound to the *amour propre* of either country. If the American government would declare that Captain Wilkes was acting without instructions, Great Britain could be satisfied with the release of the prisoners.[1] An express statement to this effect from the United States minister was accepted in lieu of an apology. Late in December, Mason and Slidell were released and landed at Southampton on January 29, 1862. Thus for the second time had the queen by the judicious exercise of her authoritative influence saved England from a great misfortune.

It was remarkable and on the whole creditable that the feeling of the working classes, especially in the north, continued to run strongly against the "slave power," notwithstanding the terrible suffering brought upon the manufacturing population by the war and the blockade of the southern ports of America, which cut off the supplies of cotton and for a time drove up the raw material required for the Lancashire mills to famine prices. The distress speedily assumed dimensions sufficient to alarm even those who had the greatest confidence in the patience, loyalty, and good sense of the working classes. In 1860 the cotton imports amounted to fifteen hundred million pounds. By 1862 they had dropped to about five hundred million pounds.

[1] A facsimile of the queen's letter to Lord Palmerston, written however by Prince Albert, is given in Martin, *Prince Consort*, ii., 423.

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Palmerston declared that much of the suffering of the operatives might have been alleviated had the manufacturers used their stocks of unsold cotton to find employment for their own work-people, instead of selling them to foreigners for the sake of the high prices which the fibre commanded. He brought the charge against them in the house of commons on July 31, 1862.[1] Cobden was "furious".[2] But all he could say in reply was that a large proportion of Lancashire millowners had not taken this course, which does not, of course, preclude us from believing that a great many had; and though there was no doubt much exaggeration at the time, it is probable that Palmerston's statement was not entirely groundless. Lord Derby took the lead in organising measures for the relief of the starving multitude. He himself subscribed £5,000, and the untiring assiduity, the business-like qualities, and the vigilant personal supervision which he exercised throughout, were the theme of general admiration. The behaviour of the people was worthy of the highest commendation.

But the cotton famine was not the only trouble caused by the American civil war. On June 23, 1862, it was brought to the notice of Lord John Russell that the *Alabama*, a steamer then building at Birkenhead, was intended for use as a confederate privateer. Owing to some unfortunate delays, the case did not come before the law officers of the crown till the 28th. They at once decided that there was abundant evidence to show that a breach of the foreign enlistment act was contemplated, and that the *Alabama* ought to be detained. But it was then too late. The bird had flown. The *Alabama* had sailed that very afternoon; and for the next two years the vessel, with a crew of which a great part was British, played havoc with the northern merchantmen. At the close of the year a demand for compensation was made by the United States and peremptorily refused by Lord Russell.[3] The English answer was that all due vigilance had been exercised to prevent the escape of the *Alabama* as soon as her true character became known.

Though Lancashire and perhaps the industrial classes as a whole were in favour of the north, there was a great deal of

[1] *Parl. Debates*, clxviii., 1027.

[2] Malmesbury, *Memoirs of an ex-Minister*, ii., 276.

[3] Lord John had been created Earl Russell in the summer of 1861.

English sympathy with the south. Russell and Palmerston did not care to disguise their sentiments. Gladstone went further than either. Speaking at Newcastle in October, 1862, he declared that Jefferson Davis, the southern president, "had made an army, had made a navy, and, what was more, had made a nation". Disraeli on the other hand took a different and more penetrating view of the situation. He was of opinion from the first that the southern states had undertaken a task altogether beyond their strength.[1] That the struggle was mainly one for the retention or abolition of slavery impressed the working men and the nonconformists more than the majority of educated Englishmen, who did not universally credit the exaggerated stories of negro suffering which were circulated in this country. They believed that on a great many estates the slaves were kindly treated, and that the alleged abuses of the system were exceptional and afforded no justification for depriving the southerners of their property and interfering with the sovereign rights of the southern states.

This attitude on the part of the cultivated and leisured classes in Great Britain roused a feeling of resentment in America, particularly in the New England states, which was not allayed for many years. "The Americans," wrote Motley, the historian, to the Duke of Argyll in June, 1861, "would have scorned material aid. But they did expect sympathy. They thought that some voice in high places would have been lifted up to say, 'We are sorry for your trials; we are compelled to look on with folded arms, but your cause is noble. Our hearts are with you. You are right in resolving upon two things—first to prevent the further extension of the system of African slavery, which you had the constitutional power of doing; and secondly to maintain your nationality, your unity, which is all that saves you from anarchy and barbarism.' Instead of all this there came denunciations of the wickedness of civil war—as if the war had not been forced upon the government!" [2]

[1] In his novel of *Lothair*, ch. xli., will be found the best explanation of the sympathy with which the English upper classes at all events regarded the southern aristocracy.

[2] *Autobiography and Memoirs of the Eighth Duke of Argyll*, ii., 173. In the *Trent* affair, too, it was believed in America that the English government had taken an ungenerous advantage of the difficulties of the embarrassed republic. Lowell, another educated New Englander, with many European connexions, put the popular sentiment into popular doggerel in the *Biglow Papers*.

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In the autumn of 1861 the prince consort's health gave much cause for anxiety. On November 22 he drove from Windsor to Sandhurst to inspect the buildings of the new staff college and royal military academy. It was a wet day, and the fatigue and exposure brought on an attack of typhoid fever, from which the prince died on Saturday, December 14. It was an irreparable misfortune to the queen, and to the nation a graver loss than it knew; for the value of the prince's temperate and sagacious counsel, especially in matters of foreign policy, was not thoroughly understood till some time afterwards. The queen never quite recovered from the blow and passed the next twenty years of her life in a kind of retirement; and though she afterwards again took part in certain public ceremonials, she left many of the social and charitable duties of royalty to be performed by the Prince of Wales. To perpetuate the memory of her husband she enriched Windsor Park with a stately mausoleum and Kensington Gardens were provided with an unhappy monument.

The most important domestic question of the year 1862 was connected with education. The "revised code" founded on the report of the Newcastle commission and drawn up by Lowe in the preceding year was introduced in the house of commons on February 13. Its leading feature was what was known as "payment by results". Lowe, as vice-president of the council, proposed that the capitation grant should only be given in schools which were under the charge of a certificated master; that the amount of the grant should be calculated on the attendance of the child, and that its payment should depend on the child passing a satisfactory examination in elementary subjects. The principle of payment by results caused much dissatisfaction, especially among the clergy, who thought that too high a place was given to secular instruction. Lowe himself declined to recognise that any hardship was inflicted on the master by punishing him for the stupidity of the child. "Whoever heard of a man being paid for his failures?" he said. He was informed that a great many people had heard of it; it was only quack doctors who advertised "No cure, no pay". A series of adverse resolutions drawn up and introduced by Walpole led to considerable modifications of the original proposals of the government. The code thus amended became

law, and was the groundwork of most of our subsequent legislation. Lowe, however, was charged with altering the reports of the school inspectors to accommodate them to his own views, and his defence being rejected by a majority of eight in the house of commons,[1] he at once resigned and did not take office again in Palmerston's lifetime.

In 1862 the house of commons and the country had begun to reflect on the probable result of increased estimates and reduced taxation. Stansfeld gave notice of a motion affirming that "the national expenditure was capable of reduction without compromising the safety, the independence, or the influence of the country". Palmerston thereupon moved a resolution expressing the hope that with due regard to economy, the house would recognise its obligation to provide for the security of the country at home, and the protection of its interests abroad. Then the conservatives proposed a further amendment insisting more strongly on economy, and Walpole was selected to move it. The defeat of the government was expected. But on Lord Palmerston announcing that he should make it a cabinet question, Walpole withdrew his resolution; on which Disraeli remarked that he hoped to-morrow[2] honourable gentlemen would not be so unlucky as to find their favourites bolting. If they are placed in that dilemma, he said, "they will be better able to understand and sympathise with my feelings on this occasion".[3]

The leading interest of the year 1863 was what was known as the Schleswig-Holstein question; of which Lord Palmerston is reported to have said that there were only three men in Europe who had ever understood it, of whom one (the prince consort) was dead, another (a Danish statesman) was mad, and the third (he himself) had forgotten it. The German powers claimed that Schleswig and Holstein belonged to the Germanic confederation, and must be treated as such by Denmark, instead of being regarded as an integral part of the Danish kingdom. Moreover, they

[1] *Parl. Debates*, lxxiv., 897, 902, 910.

[2] The Derby day.

[3] A complete survey of Gladstone's finance is to be found in Sir Spencer Walpole's *History of Twenty-five Years*, which should be compared however with Sir Stafford Northcote's *Twenty Years of Financial Policy* (1862). Disraeli's two speeches, one on the budget of 1861, and another on the budget of 1862, summarise, as he said himself, Mr. Gladstone's financial career up to that time, and give the opposition view of it. See Kebbel, *Selected Speeches of Lord Beaconsfield*.

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insisted on treating the two as one duchy; Denmark maintained that they were distinct. But for the revolutions of 1848, the dispute would have been brought to an issue in that year, after the accession of Frederick VII., the last of his line, to the throne of Denmark. He separated the duchies, incorporating Schleswig with Denmark, while permitting Holstein to remain part of the German confederation. The German diet retaliated by formally incorporating Schleswig, and Prussia would have executed its mandate, had not the rising of the populace paralysed the government. The five great powers thereupon met at the London conference of 1850, on the invitation of Denmark, and agreed to recognise the integrity of that kingdom, while reserving Holstein, which was to remain, as before, a member of the German confederation. This arrangement, for which Palmerston was chiefly responsible, was embodied in the treaty of 1852. It bore signs of haste, since the renunciation of only one of the claimants to the succession, the Duke of Augustenburg, was obtained, and the powers abstained from giving a joint guarantee. Still peace was preserved, until, in 1862, Frederick VII., while conceding autonomy to Holstein, assented to a law which virtually united Schleswig with Denmark. The ink was barely dry upon this document when Frederick died, and his successor Prince Christian of Glücksburg, who ascended the throne as Christian IX., felt bound to confirm his predecessor's action. The German diet proceeded to occupy Holstein with federal troops.

England fully believed that Denmark had right upon her side. The foreign secretary at first confined himself to the congenial office of lecturing the Danish government on the duty of granting liberal institutions to Schleswig; but, on the last night of the session of 1863, he made the memorable statement that "if any violent attempt were made to overthrow the right and interfere with the independence of Denmark, those who made the attempt would find in the result that it would not be Denmark alone with which they would have to contend". This language admitted of only one interpretation. But the French emperor, on whose co-operation the foreign minister relied, had other views. In concert with England he had addressed two remonstrances to St. Petersburg in April and June, 1863, in favour of the Poles then in rebellion against

Russia; but Russia, knowing that England would only employ moral force, contemptuously rejected both. Accordingly when in September Russell proposed that England and France should make a joint representation to Austria, Russia, and the German diet in favour of Denmark, he was told that the emperor was not prepared to accept from Germany a similar reply to that which he had submitted to from Russia, and that, "unless her majesty's government was prepared to go further, if necessary, than the mere presentation of a note and the receipt of an evasive reply," the emperor could not agree to Lord Russell's suggestion.[1] The mistake made by England was not in declining to go to war, but in lecturing the powers of Europe all round in language which, unless she did mean to fight, was ridiculous. Russell, after all his bluster, could only call the tsar "a very ill-bred man". The French emperor, too, put a price on his assistance which rendered joint action impossible. He should require, he said, first the liberation of Venetia, and secondly some modification of the Rhine frontier. This, of course, would have meant a general European war.

Palmerston might perhaps have endeavoured to act up to the spirit of his menacing language had it not been for the restraining influence of his colleagues. They were supported by the queen,[2] who exerted her authority on this occasion more successfully than she had done in 1859. At the opening of parliament in 1864 ministers introduced into the royal speech expressions which still seemed to commit England to active interference on behalf of Denmark. The queen insisted on these words being expunged, and substituted others of her own which were perfectly colourless.[3] When Palmerston told the Austrian ambassador that if the Austrian fleet went to the Baltic, he would regard it as "an affront and insult to England," the queen appealed to the cabinet, through Lord Granville, to help her against the prime minister; she even went a step further and hinted at appealing to the country. "She invited the private support of Lord Derby, the leader of the opposition, and let it be known that if parliament did not

[1] *Parliamentary Papers*, 1864, vol. lxiv. (No. 2), 131.

[2] Walpole, *History of Twenty-five Years*, i., 448.

[3] Lee, *Life of Queen Victoria*, p. 349; and Lord Fitzmaurice, *Granville*, i., 457-60.

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adopt a pacific and neutral policy, she was prepared to dissolve it and let the country decide between herself and her ministers."[1] But she was very angry with Ellenborough, who made insinuations against her as well as against the government on the score of want of energy, and with Derby for supporting him.

At any rate, England escaped being involved in the war. Denmark was invaded and defeated. A conference assembled in London which through Danish obstinacy ended in nothing, and Napoleon declined yet another overture. The Germans seized the duchies and made Denmark pay an indemnity for defending them. Palmerston and Russell, who had utterly failed to gauge Bismarck's subtlety and resolve, attempted to disguise their discomfiture by talk of what they would do if Copenhagen were attacked. The government was taken to task in both houses in the following year, and in the lords a vote of censure was carried by 177 votes to 168. In the commons the government took refuge under an amendment, moved by Kinglake, which expressed satisfaction that the country had refrained from armed intervention. The prime minister's personal popularity carried the day by 313 votes to 295, but even so he was compelled to claim Mr. Gladstone's financial exploits, which he had thwarted more than once, as the chief reason for the continuance of his government.[2]

In 1863 an event took place which, though highly gratifying to the queen, placed her in a position of some embarrassment in connexion with the Dano-German war. The marriage of the Prince of Wales to the Princess Alexandra of Denmark was solemnised in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, on March 10. The princess naturally felt acutely the position of her father, the King of Denmark, and when in December of the same year she and her husband were fellow-guests at Windsor with the Crown Prince and Princess of Prussia, all four must have found the situation a trying one. The queen is said to have forbidden Schleswig-Holstein to be mentioned at the dinner

[1] See letter of Grey to Granville in Fitzmaurice, i., 465-66.

[2] See *Parliamentary Papers*, 1860-1862, *Correspondence Respecting the Affairs of Schleswig and Holstein*, and *Parliamentary Papers*, 1864, lxiv.; and the two articles from the *Quarterly Review*, January and April, 1864, reprinted in *Essays by the Marquis of Salisbury* (1905), vol. ii.

table; but all must have been thinking of it. Parliament voted the Prince of Wales £40,000 a year, to supplement the income of the Duchy of Cornwall which was worth £60,000 more, and gave £10,000 a year to the princess, with the guarantee of £30,000 if she should be left a widow. CHAP. IX.

The budget of 1863 was important, and it was stated by an opposition newspaper that for the first time since his succession to office in 1859, Gladstone had produced a financial statement which was likely to give general satisfaction. The French commercial treaty had more than doubled British exports to France,[1] and Gladstone in making his financial statement on April 18 was able to show a surplus of £3,874,000. The income tax was reduced from ninepence to sevenpence in the pound, and the tea duties from one shilling and fivepence to a shilling. The chancellor of the exchequer rather impaired the popularity of his budget by a proposal to abolish the exemption from income tax of charitable endowments and corporate trusts. The proposal, however, met with such strong opposition both in the house of commons and out of it, that after making a vigorous defence of his policy, he was compelled to abandon the project. These were not the days of "heroic legislation"; but in the session of 1863 four useful measures were placed upon the statute book, and two destined hereafter to become law were defeated. The prisons chaplains bill, providing for the appointment of Roman catholic chaplains in prisons; the bill for the augmentation of small benefices, enabling the lord chancellor to sell 300 of the smallest advowsons in his gift to the landowners in their respective neighbourhoods; the statute law revision bill, weeding out obsolete acts; and the bill inflicting the punishment of the lash on garrotters redeemed the session from the charge of absolute barrenness.

In 1864 the budget was again the principal object of parliamentary interest. The cheap breakfast table was made still cheaper by the reduction of the sugar duties, and the income tax was reduced by another penny, from sevenpence to sixpence. To the post office savings bank bill passed the year before, Mr. Gladstone added a measure for providing through the post office a system of annuities and insurances on a

[1] *Parl. Debates*, clxx., 220.

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humble and useful scale. In this session what is known as the penal servitude act was passed, providing that penal servitude should never be imposed for five years, and that after nine months of solitary confinement the convict should be transported to Western Australia. The Australian colonies, however, protested so loudly against this proposal that the government was obliged to drop it.

In the course of this year England received visits from some illustrious foreigners. On April 3 Garibaldi, the hero of Italian liberation, arrived and was welcomed by all classes with unbounded enthusiasm. He stayed at Stafford House, as the guest of the Duke of Sutherland, and a large party, leading statesmen of both sides[1] being among the number, was invited to meet him. During his stay in London he was guilty of some indiscretions which rather damped the admiration of his aristocratic friends, and he left England on the 25th without visiting the manufacturing districts as he had originally intended. A rumour obtained general credence that the French emperor had protested against the ovation which he was receiving in London. The government thought it necessary to take notice of this report, and Gladstone assured the house of commons that it was "entirely destitute of the slightest shadow of foundation".[2] Another Italian patriot, Mazzini, caused some embarrassment to Lord Palmerston's cabinet. He had persuaded Stansfeld, then a civil lord of the admiralty, to allow letters, addressed to him under the pseudonym of Flowers, to be delivered at Stansfeld's house. One of Mazzini's correspondents was Greco, a man who had been tried in Paris for conspiracy to murder the emperor. A letter was found in Greco's possession telling him if he wanted money to write to Mr. Flowers at 35 Thurloe Square, where Stansfeld lived. A resolution censuring the civil lord was moved in the house of commons. The government resisted the motion, which, however, was only defeated by a majority of ten, and Stansfeld felt himself bound to retire from the ministry. An even more damaging resignation was that of Lord Westbury, the lord chancellor, who, besides committing acts of nepotism, had preserved an injudicious silence on the misappropriation of public

[1] *Memoirs of an ex-Minister*, ii., 320.
[2] *Parl. Debates*, clxxiv., 1425.

money by an official who had been permitted to retire on a pension. Westbury, an able lawyer with a highly cultivated taste for vitriolic sarcasm, met with little sympathy. But he had made some serious efforts while in office to amend and simplify the legal system. He succeeded in laying the foundation of bankruptcy law reform and he caused some progress to be made in the consolidation of the statutes and the repeal of obsolete enactments.

In America the tide had turned in favour of the North, and events had signally confuted the opinions of those English politicians who had predicted a different result. On June 30, 1863, Roebuck had moved a resolution in the house of commons calling on the government to recognise the southern confederacy. He was answered by Gladstone who, while opposing the motion, again declared his conviction that the maintenance of the American union was impossible. Events speedily showed the depth of this miscalculation. Roebuck withdrew his motion, and Mason, the confederate envoy, left London. Russell, however, continued to prophesy that the south would establish its independence. But ministers interfered to prevent the southerners from being supplied with steam vessels by an English firm; and it would have been only cruel kindness to furnish them with additional means of prolonging what had now become a hopeless contest. The cabinet also studiously refused to co-operate with Napoleon III. in his ill-judged attempts to mediate between the belligerents.

We are now approaching the end of what has been called the Palmerstonian era, and also of the golden days of Gladstonian finance. Gladstone's last budget, in Lord Palmerston's ministry, has been described as "the crown and summit" of this period of our financial history.[1] With a surplus of £4,000,000 he was able to reduce the tea duty from a shilling to sixpence, and the income tax from sixpence to fourpence. The only measure of any importance which was passed during this session was the union chargeability bill, by which the union was substituted for the parish for purposes of poor relief; the expense was now to be charged upon the union fund formed by contributions from the parishes within its area, and residence

[1] Paul, *History of Modern England*, ii., 375.

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within the union instead of in the parish was to establish "a settlement," the term of residence being reduced to one year. In the summer of this year the country was disturbed by the discovery that a disease known on the continent as the steppe-murrain or rinderpest had broken out in England. It seems to have been imported from Holland; and it spread so rapidly that it was seen to be necessary at once to introduce some remedial measures. Almost the last act of Lord Palmerston's government in October, 1865, was the appointment of a royal commission to inquire into the best mode of dealing with the disease which threatened to become a national calamity.

A leading member of the commission was Robert Lowe, who had recently come forward in parliament as the opponent of parliamentary reform. It will be remembered that after the withdrawal of Russell's bill in 1860, the government allowed the question to drop. But some of their followers were unwilling to abandon it, and kept the question alive during the whole of Palmerston's administration. Locke King's bill for the reduction of the county franchise, brought in in 1864, was opposed by Palmerston and defeated on the second reading by a majority of twenty-seven. Edward Baines's bill for the reduction of the borough franchise was introduced about a month afterwards, and though supported by Gladstone, whose speech was really an answer to the premier's speech on Locke King's bill, was rejected by the still larger majority of fifty-six. In the session of 1865 Baines returned to the charge. But he found a lion in his path. Gladstone, though he voted for the bill, did not speak; and Lowe took the lead in denouncing this concession to democracy. His great speech, the first of a series which established his reputation as a consummate orator, was delivered on May 23, when the motion for the "previous question" was moved by Lord Elcho and carried by a majority of seventy-four.

Next to parliamentary reform, the question now assuming the deepest interest in domestic politics was that of the Irish Church. On March 28, Dillwyn, a Welsh radical member, having moved a resolution affirming that the state of the Irish Church "was unsatisfactory, and called for the early attention of her majesty's government," Gladstone made a long speech which alarmed most conservatives and all churchmen. He

allowed that the condition of the Irish Church was "unsatisfactory," that it had failed as a missionary Church; but announced that having regard to the difficulties which stood in the way of removing anomalies, he was not prepared to say that the question "called for the early attention of government". Thus he had at one step transferred the maintenance of the Irish Church from the ground of principle to the ground of expediency. Churchmen in general, and Gladstone's Oxford constituents in particular, who had seen in him a bulwark of the established Church, and regarded the English and Irish branches of it as constituting one whole and indivisible communion, were discouraged at language which by implication negatived this theory. He did little to regain their favour by opposing Goschen's bill for the abolition of tests in the university of Oxford; and it was not long before they were able to show their indignation in a practical manner.

On July 6, 1865, parliament was dissolved, having sat for six years one month and six days. During this period the by-elections had gone greatly in favour of the conservatives, and Colonel Taylor, the opposition whip, told Malmesbury in April that they would gain twenty-five seats. Their chances, however, had been badly damaged by one of Derby's unfortunate indiscretions. On June 26, Lord Devon in the house of lords moved the second reading of the Roman catholic oaths bill, the object of which was to substitute for the oath imposed in 1829 a less exacting one. Lord Derby objected to "unmuzzling" the Roman catholics, and the expression gave great offence. Whatever the cause, the conservatives at the general election lost ground instead of gaining it, and Palmerston had the satisfaction of knowing that in spite of everything his was still the name to conjure with. Many of the high churchmen, too, notwithstanding Gladstone's language about the Irish Church, were still anxious to keep him in power. For his sake they were willing to condone the "Shaftesbury bishoprics" bestowed on the evangelical party; and they contributed their share to swell the liberal majority. Gladstone, though defeated by Gathorne Hardy at Oxford, secured a seat in Lancashire. The liberals gained about twenty seats, counting forty on a division, which brought up their majority to between sixty and seventy.

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It must, however, be remembered that the parliament of 1865 was a Palmerstonian parliament, and that at least one-fourth of those who were prepared to fight under the prime minister's banner were in sentiment conservatives. Had he not lived to appeal to the country in person, their votes would have been given to Lord Derby, and our history might have told another tale. But Palmerston's earthly career was now drawing to a close. During the greater part of the summer he had been suffering from gout and want of sleep. As soon as the Tiverton election was over he retired to Brockett Hall, where he gradually grew weaker, and on October 18 he breathed his last, within two days of completing his eighty-first year.

The death of Palmerston may be said to have closed the transition period through which this country passed in its progress from aristocracy to democracy. By the nation at large he was regarded as the leader of the liberals, who were satisfied with knowing that their own friends were in power. By the conservatives he was tolerated and even trusted as almost one of themselves. An age of transition is an age of compromise. And Palmerston himself was a living compromise. The tories supported him for fear of the radicals, and the radicals supported him to keep out the tories. There were men on either side who chafed under his dictatorship. Neither Bright nor Disraeli was satisfied. But the influential majority of both parties acquiesced in an arrangement which gave something to each of them, and prolonged what was very acceptable, an era of political repose. It was the calm before the storm, but still it was a calm, and there were a number of troublesome questions which the nation, on the whole, was not unwilling to postpone to a more convenient season. The veteran parliamentarian, a whig by association, a conservative in sentiment, popular with the masses though he had small sympathy with their aspirations, had exactly represented the passing phase of public opinion. His death was the "letting out of the waters," and a prelude to a new era of stress and activity in domestic politics.

CHAPTER X.

THE "LEAP IN THE DARK".

THE ministry continued to exist with little change, though its most conspicuous figure had disappeared. Russell, who in his seventy-fourth year became prime minister for the second time, resigned the foreign office in favour of Clarendon. The chancellorship of the exchequer continued in the hands of Gladstone, who succeeded to the leadership of the house of commons, rendered vacant by Palmerston's death. It was, however, essential to introduce some new blood into the ministry, while the strengthening of the cabinet in the commons was still more imperative. Lord Stanley, to whom office was offered, refused to leave his party, and a proposal to bring Lowe into the cabinet fell to the ground, in view of his declaration against any lowering of the borough franchise. Bright also was impossible, for he had committed the unpardonable offence of attacking classes who could make their resentment felt, and his name, as Gladstone said at the time, would have sunk both the government and any reform bill they might propose. Goschen, one of the members for the city of London, an able young man connected with a wealthy Anglo-German financial firm, became vice-president of the board of trade, and Forster under-secretary for the colonies. The appointment of Goschen, who had only been in parliament three years, created both surprise and jealousy among Russell's colleagues, feelings which were intensified when, in the following January, he entered the cabinet as chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster. An addition to the strength of the cabinet in the commons was made in February, when Lord Ripon went to the Indian office and Lord Hartington, who had hitherto been under-secretary, became head of the war office. In succeeding to the premier-

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ship on Palmerston's death, Russell entered on no peaceful inheritance. The disastrous spread of cattle plague in Great Britain, insurrection in Jamaica, a commercial crisis, and fenianism in Ireland, combined to harass the few months of his administration.

Within a few weeks of its accession to office the government received news of a rising by the negroes in Jamaica. A mob of blacks, armed mainly with stones and cutlasses, had besieged the court-house at Morant Bay, set it on fire and killed eighteen white persons on October 11, 1865. The rioters spread themselves over the surrounding estates, forcing the inhabitants to take refuge in the bush, putting some of the male whites to death, and pillaging stores. The situation, without doubt, was one which demanded prompt and energetic measures on the part of the island executive. The governor, Edward John Eyre, formerly a magistrate and a protector of aborigines in Australia, where he was known for his sympathy with the natives, at once summoned his council and with their approval issued a proclamation placing the county of Surrey under martial law, excepting only from this decree Kingston the capital. Troops were despatched to surround the insurgent district and the rising was soon well under control. The governor and council believed that George William Gordon, a native proprietor, a member of the house of assembly, a baptist preacher, and an ardent champion of the blacks, was responsible for the insurrectionary movement, though there is no satisfactory evidence that he had a guilty knowledge of any intended rising. He was arrested, tried by a court-martial, composed of two naval lieutenants and an ensign, found guilty on evidence which would have been wholly insufficient to secure his conviction in a court of law, sentenced to death, and executed on the 23rd. Gordon bore his fate with calmness and dignity, disclaiming in a pathetic letter to his wife all share in any conspiracy.

The summary punishments went on for about three weeks after the governor had formally stated that the rebellion had been quelled, and, in all, 439 persons were put to death, and over 600 flogged, including many women. The news of these punishments greatly inflamed a large section of the English public. The government promptly despatched a commission of inquiry, under the chairmanship of Sir Henry Storks, to

Jamaica and temporarily superseded the governor. The commission, which reported in April, 1866, praised the governor "for the skill, promptitude, and vigour which he manifested during the early stages of the insurrection," but found that martial law had been continued in its full force for an excessive period; that the punishment of death was unnecessarily frequent; that the floggings were reckless and in one place positively barbarous; and that the burning of 1,000 houses was wanton and cruel. Beyond recalling Eyre, who forthwith retired on his pension, the government took no action in punishing either Eyre himself or any of the officers concerned in the suppression of the rising. But the matter did not end here. A Jamaica committee was founded, under the chairmanship of John Stuart Mill, with Herbert Spencer and Huxley among the members, to promote the prosecution of Governor Eyre and other officials. On the other hand, many persons to whose views Carlyle[1] gave forcible expression, supported the governor in his action. In 1867 two of the officers chiefly concerned in Gordon's execution were prosecuted for murder, and in 1868 a prosecution was begun against Eyre for "high crimes and misdemeanours in acts of alleged abuse and oppression under colour of execution of his office as governor of the island". These efforts on the part of the Jamaica committee met with no success, for in both cases the grand jury threw out the bill. The affair was finally laid to rest in 1872 when a sum of money was voted by parliament to the ex-governor on account of the expenses incurred by him in his defence.

In the late spring of 1866 there burst on the country a commercial disaster which involved in failure many firms in London and the provinces alike, and carried ruin into thousands of households. The principle of limited liability, first authorised under the joint stock companies act of 1856, had taken firm root, and an ever-increasing number of joint stock undertakings were each year floated under its protection. The very activity of commerce tended to increase speculation to a dangerous degree. The failure of the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway Company to fulfil its engagements and the disposal of its ordinary stock at a ruinous discount heralded

[1] See "Shooting Niagara and After," in Carlyle's *Miscellaneous Essays*.

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the crash. On May 10 the great bill-discounting house of Overend, Gurney, and Co. failed, the liabilities amounting to no less than £19,000,000. Friday, the day following this portentous failure, was known in the city as "Black Friday". The pressure upon the Bank of England for accommodation in the discounting of bills became so severe that the bank charter act was temporarily suspended as in the previous panics of 1848 and 1857. By the knowledge that this step had been taken confidence was restored, nor did the bank find it necessary to take advantage of its increased powers. As the crisis, fortunately, was due to financial operations and not to any diminution in the trade of the country, which was in the main prosperous and sound, the difficulties gradually passed over, though the year was marked by an unusual number of commercial failures.

With the death of Palmerston was sounded the knell of the £10 householder, the real ruler of the nation during the generation of prosperous mercantilism and middle-class ascendancy, which had followed the reform bill of 1832, and had made so great an advance in material prosperity. An old order may almost be said to have passed away in the autumn of 1865; a new generation of politicians arose to whom the ideas of Pitt and Canning were archaic. So long as Palmerston lived the question of organic reform, of which he had been a consistent, and, by dint of his personal popularity, a successful opponent, can hardly be said to have entered seriously into the political arena; with the accession of Russell, one of the whigs by whom the reform bill of 1832 was carried, the introduction of a fresh bill for the extension of the franchise was inevitable. But lest the conservative spirits in the party and the small borough representatives might take offence, it was felt that the change should be made as imperceptible as might be, the dose as innocuous as the ministry could contrive. The question of redistribution was postponed for the present. The county and borough franchises were to be extended, but the extension was to be on a strictly moderate scale. In towns it was proposed that the franchise should be lowered from a £10 to a £7 rental franchise, to which every householder should be entitled, independently of the personal payment of rates. Lodgers who paid an annual rent of £10 were also to have the franchise.

The county occupation franchise was to be reduced to £14. It was also proposed that the vote should be conferred on all persons who had deposited £50 in a savings bank for two years. By the adoption of these proposals it was hoped to add 400,000 voters to the register without encountering any serious opposition in the house of commons.

This expectation was completely falsified. Opposition came from within the liberal ranks. The disaffected liberals, captained by Lowe and Horsman, were compared by John Bright to the discontented refugees in the cave of Adullam; but it was retorted that the men in the cave were increasing, and that Saul and his armour-bearer (Gladstone and Bright) were becoming more and more distressed thereby. Lowe, by speeches, the perorations to which long remained famous, gained during this year such a command of the house as had never in Gladstone's recollection been surpassed.[1] Speaking on the second reading, he said: "If we do fall, we shall fall deservedly. Uncoerced by any external force, not borne down by any internal calamity, but in the full plethora of our wealth and in the surfeit of our too exuberant prosperity, with our own rash and inconsiderate hands, we are about to pluck down on our own heads the venerable temple of our liberty and our glory."[2] A motion proposed by Lord Grosvenor, afterwards Duke of Westminster, and seconded by Lord Stanley, the son of the tory leader, that the house should not proceed with the franchise bill until the ministry had announced its intentions on redistribution, was only defeated by five votes on April 27, 1866, and after a promise had been given to disclose the whole plan as soon as the bill had passed the second reading. The cabinet—which had a cave of its own—hesitated for an hour or two, but, controlled by the determination of Russell and Gladstone, resolved to stake the government's future upon carrying the bill. Its chances of success, however, went from bad to worse. Endangered from the moment it got into committee, the deathblow was dealt on June 18, by a motion from Lord Dunkellin, one of the cave, who carried an amendment by 315 to 304 substituting rating for rental in the qualification for the borough franchise.

[1] Morley, *Gladstone*, ii., 201.

[2] *Parl. Debates*, clxxxii., 2118.

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The ministers recognised that they had come to the end of their brief tether. Russell tendered their resignation to the queen, who was at Balmoral. Some days were spent in communicating with her; on the 26th Gladstone was able to tell the house of commons that the resignations had been accepted. Derby became prime minister for the third time, once more with Disraeli as chancellor of the exchequer and leader of the commons. The ministry was purely conservative in its composition, for overtures which had been made to Lowe and the Adullamites were unsuccessful. Stanley became foreign secretary; Chelmsford, lord chancellor; Carnarvon, secretary for the colonies; Lord Cranborne, who as Lord Robert Cecil had sat in the house since 1853, and had recently become heir to the marquisate of Salisbury owing to the death of his elder brother, secretary of state for India; and Spencer Walpole, home secretary.

Shortly after the death of Palmerston, Gladstone and Denison the speaker, talking together, agreed that there existed in the country no strong feeling for reform. Yet the fall of the Russell administration, only a few months later, was immediately followed by turbulent scenes in London and a vigorous agitation throughout the country. The artisans, who had seemed apathetic towards the franchise when it was dangled before them, became angry when it was refused. The strenuous advocates of reform fanned this feeling into flame, and leagues and associations sprang up in all parts. A monster demonstration was arranged to take place on July 2 in Trafalgar Square, to be followed by a second meeting on Monday, July 23, in Hyde Park, under the presidency of Beales, the chairman of the Reform League. The meeting in Trafalgar Square, at first prohibited by the police, was suffered in the end to be held, but the inhabitants of Belgravia and Mayfair regarded the rendezvous in the park as an invasion, and the government, indecisive until the last moment and perplexed by legal complications, finally resolved on closing the park gates to the public at five o'clock on the day appointed for the meeting.

A strong force of police was drawn up within the park. The organised portion of the demonstration, on being refused admittance, withdrew to Trafalgar Square, where an orderly meeting was held; but the crowd which had been drawn

together did not accompany the leaders. Some men standing on the dwarf wall in Park Lane levered the iron rails out of their supports. Through a breach of about fifty yards created in this manner, the crowd rushed into the park. Long stretches of the fencing were thrown down, the police were savagely pelted, and had to be reinforced by detachments of the Foot Guards and the Life Guards. A good many windows were broken in the West-end that night, but no serious damage was done, nor was there any loss of life. The incident undoubtedly gave an impetus to the reform movement. The question of the franchise, which had hitherto mainly interested politicians and zealots, was thrust before the country. The upper and middle classes became aware of the danger which might arise from the inaction; the working-men began to feel that they were being kept out of their rights. Street processions and monster open-air meetings were organised in the great cities. Bright, in a series of eloquent speeches, conducted a campaign throughout the country. The agitation found support within the corporation of London; and the lord mayor presided at the Guildhall over a meeting jointly convened by the Reform League and the London Working Men's Association, when resolutions in favour of "residential manhood suffrage" and vote by ballot were carried.

Thus before parliament reassembled in February, 1867, it was plain that Lord Derby's ministry would be forced to bring forward proposals on parliamentary reform. At the opening of parliament the queen, who appeared in public after a long seclusion, announced in her speech that the attention of the houses would again be directed to the state of the representation of the country. The address was agreed to with extraordinary alacrity; and on February 11 Disraeli, as leader of the house of commons, was in a position to make his statement. Parliamentary reform which had, he said, baffled the efforts of both parties, ought no longer to be a question which should determine the fate of cabinets. He proposed to lift it above the level of party discussion and to call upon the whole house to unite in settling it.

On February 25, Disraeli gave details of the resolutions which he wished to see passed in the commons before proceeding to frame a bill. They seem to have been drawn up with the

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double object of increasing the representation of the labouring classes on the one hand, and on the other of creating a system of balances and checks to prevent any one class or interest gaining a predominating power. It was proposed to fix the qualification for borough voters at a £6 rating franchise: for county voters at a £20 rating franchise. Four "fancy" franchises were to be created: votes were to be conferred, irrespective of property qualifications, on ministers of religion and certificated schoolmasters; on persons who had taken a university degree; on depositors of £30 in a savings bank; on the possessors of £50 in the funds; and on any one who paid twenty shillings a year in direct taxation. The scheme, severely criticised by Lowe, Bright, and Gladstone, met with so cold a reception from the house, that on the following day the resolutions were withdrawn, and the government promised to bring in a complete bill. The withdrawal of the resolutions, which had been framed in a vain attempt to reconcile divisions within the cabinet, was accompanied by the resignation of three members of the cabinet, Carnarvon, Cranborne, and General Peel, secretary of state for war. Their places were speedily filled by the Duke of Buckingham, Sir Stafford Northcote, and Sir John Pakington.

On March 18, Disraeli, no longer troubled by divided counsels in his cabinet, brought in a bill embodying liberal features more unmistakably than those hitherto outlined by the government. In the boroughs the franchise was to be granted to every householder, subject to the conditions of a two years' residence, and the personal payment of rates; in the counties to every occupier rated at £15. The franchises based on education and on personal property remained, and an additional check was provided in the proposal that the voters possessing these special qualifications were to be entitled to two votes if they were also householders. Redistribution proposals were added, by which thirty seats were to be transferred from smaller to larger centres. The bill was severely attacked by Gladstone, who recorded his implacable hostility to the proposition for dual voting which he denounced as "a gigantic instrument of fraud" and "a proclamation of a war of classes"; and by Bright who said that the bill bore "upon its face the marks of deception and disappointment," containing as regards the

minister first impressed itself upon parliament and the country. His speeches were at once weighty and brilliant, full of wide knowledge, and pointed with a trenchant satire, which at that time was only directed to embarrassing his opponents, though in later life it sometimes embarrassed himself. The breadth of his statesmanship and his capacious grasp of home and foreign affairs were afterwards revealed in a long tenure of the highest offices; all sections of the conservatives were eventually to find in him their authoritative chief. For the moment, however, he was the representative of those "unbending," if not very "stern" tories, who disliked Derby and distrusted Disraeli, and thought the reform bill a mere surrender to the radicals. The ministerial measure was denounced by Lord Cranborne as "a political betrayal which has no parallel in our annals, which strikes at the root of all that mutual confidence which is the very soul of our party government, and on which only the strength and freedom of our representative institutions can be sustained". Lowe added the practical advice that we must now set to work to educate "our future masters". In the house of lords, Lord Derby's influence secured the second reading, though in his final speech on the third reading he frankly described the bill as "a great experiment," and used a phrase which has passed into history when he said that the country was taking "a leap in the dark". Acts similar in principle though differing in detail were passed in 1868 to apply to Scotland and Ireland. In Scotland the boroughs were given household and lodger franchise; in the counties the ownership franchise was reduced to £5, the occupation franchise to £14. In Ireland the counties were left untouched but the borough franchise was reduced to a £4 rating franchise.

The franchise bill of 1867 was the complement, the natural and indeed inevitable sequel, to the act of 1832. But even in English politics few great changes have come about with less evidence of principle and conviction on the part of those mainly concerned in it, with more appearance of mere opportunism and concession to the expediencies of the moment. It was difficult to be enthusiastic over a reform bill framed by a ministerial party which did not want reform, under pressure from an opposition which did not want the bill. But then both sides

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house at the beginning of May, the Reform League convened a meeting in the park. A notice was issued, signed by Spencer Walpole, the home secretary, warning all persons against attending this gathering. Derby, however, announced that as the meeting was perfectly legal, nothing would be done to hinder it, and 200,000 persons peacefully assembled in the park on the appointed day. This was followed by the retirement of Walpole, who had shown himself a capable and respected administrator, but was scarcely vigorous enough to deal with a crisis.

In the house of commons the securities inserted in the bill to comfort the doubting tories disappeared one by one. Dual voting and the educational and property franchises vanished. The two years' residential qualification was reduced to twelve months. Lodgers were given votes provided that they had occupied for twelve months lodgings of the annual unfurnished value of £10. In the counties the occupation franchise was reduced to £12. The government's proposals for redistribution underwent similar treatment. The minimum population allowing two members was raised from 7,000 to 10,000, and by the disfranchisement of the small doubly represented boroughs, new seats were created without increasing the numbers of the house. In this way a third member was given to Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, and Leeds; and a second to Salford and Merthyr. Nine new boroughs were created and twenty-five seats were bestowed on the counties. London university became a constituency with a single representative. Two causes then new to parliament were pleaded by John Stuart Mill. His proposal to confer the franchise on women was treated with the mild jocularity which became a tradition with the house of commons whenever the question came up for discussion in parliament during the remainder of the nineteenth century; and the house also received with indifference his speech in support of Hare's scheme for the representation of minorities, by enabling electors who disliked their own local candidates to vote for "members of parliament in general," that is to say, for any candidate whom they chose.

The government bill was read in the house of commons for the third time on July 15, 1867, after a forcible protest by Lord Cranborne. It was in the debates of this session that the vigorous and interesting personality of the future prime

minister first impressed itself upon parliament and the country. His speeches were at once weighty and brilliant, full of wide knowledge, and pointed with a trenchant satire, which at that time was only directed to embarrassing his opponents, though in later life it sometimes embarrassed himself. The breadth of his statesmanship and his capacious grasp of home and foreign affairs were afterwards revealed in a long tenure of the highest offices; all sections of the conservatives were eventually to find in him their authoritative chief. For the moment, however, he was the representative of those "unbending," if not very "stern" tories, who disliked Derby and distrusted Disraeli, and thought the reform bill a mere surrender to the radicals. The ministerial measure was denounced by Lord Cranborne as "a political betrayal which has no parallel in our annals, which strikes at the root of all that mutual confidence which is the very soul of our party government, and on which only the strength and freedom of our representative institutions can be sustained". Lowe added the practical advice that we must now set to work to educate "our future masters". In the house of lords, Lord Derby's influence secured the second reading, though in his final speech on the third reading he frankly described the bill as "a great experiment," and used a phrase which has passed into history when he said that the country was taking "a leap in the dark". Acts similar in principle though differing in detail were passed in 1868 to apply to Scotland and Ireland. In Scotland the boroughs were given household and lodger franchise; in the counties the ownership franchise was reduced to £5, the occupation franchise to £14. In Ireland the counties were left untouched but the borough franchise was reduced to a £4 rating franchise.

The franchise bill of 1867 was the complement, the natural and indeed inevitable sequel, to the act of 1832. But even in English politics few great changes have come about with less evidence of principle and conviction on the part of those mainly concerned in it, with more appearance of mere opportunism and concession to the expediencies of the moment. It was difficult to be enthusiastic over a reform bill framed by a ministerial party which did not want reform, under pressure from an opposition which did not want the bill. But then both sides

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felt that an extension of the franchise was bound to come; and if the tories were pushed forward along a path they thought dangerous, the same may be said of many of the leading liberals. Disraeli probably took the step with much more sense of responsibility and belief in its necessity than most of his colleagues and his titular leader. Derby, seldom quite serious in his politics, saw only that he had "dished the whigs," to use his own phrase; but Disraeli had long felt that an electorate frankly democratic was a welcome alternative to the political ascendancy of the middle classes. So he could declare[1] soon afterwards that he had "educated his party" to the view which he had enunciated in the house of commons as early as February 20, 1846, when he had concluded his great speech against the repeal of the corn laws, by deprecating the transfer of political power to a mercantile oligarchy, and declaring that he should prefer to rely on "the invigorating energies of an educated and enfranchised people". The work in regard to the borough franchise has stood the test of time; the redistribution of seats and the county franchise were left untouched until 1884. The bill in its final shape, as has been said, was largely Gladstone's work, but it was Disraeli who had guided its passage through the house. Lord Cranborne might refer to him as "a political adventurer," might sneer at his "policy of legerdemain,"[2] but he had shown himself a great master of parliamentary tactics, he had succeeded where former ministries had failed, and as Bishop Wilberforce wrote at the end of the session, "the most wonderful thing was the rise of Disraeli".

The budget encountered little opposition. In spite of the financial crisis in 1866 and the cattle plague, the revenue was satisfactory, and Disraeli as chancellor of the exchequer disarmed Gladstone's opposition by devoting almost the entire surplus of £1,200,000 to the reduction of the national debt. In the same session Gathorne Hardy carried an act creating the metropolitan asylums board under which separate hospitals and asylums apart from the workhouse infirmaries were established. Something was done also towards equalising the metropolitan poor rate by charging certain expenses like the salaries of medical officers upon a common fund. A resolution

[1] *Selected Speeches of Lord Beaconsfield*, ii., 479.
[2] *Parl. Debates*, clxxxviii., 1539.

was also carried by a majority of one against flogging in the army in time of peace, and in the mutiny act of the succeeding year the flogging of soldiers, except when on active service, was abolished.

In November, 1867, parliament was summoned to vote money for a military expedition to Abyssinia. Since 1855 Theodore, the son-in-law of Ras Ali, sovereign of the Amhara division of that Christian, though still largely uncivilised country, had been negus or supreme king. Several causes had lately combined to excite his anger against the few Europeans living in the country. Towards the close of 1863 he threw the British consul and other European residents into prison. In August, 1864, Hormuzd Rassam, a British diplomatic agent, was sent to demand their release; but it was not until 1866 that he was able to gain access to the king, only to be detained as a hostage himself. In the spring of 1867 an ultimatum was sent by Lord Stanley, the foreign secretary, demanding the release of the captives within three months under penalty of war. As no satisfactory reply was received, the government, in the autumn of that year, ordered a strong force to be equipped in India and placed under the direction of Sir Robert Napier, commander-in-chief in the Bombay presidency.

On January 2, 1868, Napier, with 12,000 men, of whom three-quarters were drawn from the Indian army, landed near Massowah, and three weeks later the march to Magdala, King Theodore's capital, began. The invaders had no serious military opposition to encounter; but the difficulties of transport and supply were considerable and were successfully handled. The distance was over 400 miles, in the course of which deep ravines had to be traversed and high mountains crossed at an elevation of 10,000 feet. On April 10 the plateau of Magdala was reached, and a feeble attack from the troops of Theodore was easily repulsed. Like the French chassepôts at Mentana the new breech-loading Snider rifles of the British army "worked wonders". On the 13th Magdala was stormed and King Theodore was found dead in his stronghold. The captives were discovered unharmed. The fortress was razed, and by June 18 the expedition to the last man had left Abyssinia in the most perfect order. In the ornamental language of Disraeli, "the standard of St. George had been hoisted on the mountains

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of Rasselas". The cost of this not very glorious, though well-managed, campaign was something over £8,000,000 to the British taxpayer, despite the fact that the payment and transport of the Indian troops was thrown upon the Indian exchequer. Henry Fawcett, the blind member for Brighton, professor of political economy at Cambridge, who five months before had protested against a ball at the India Office, given to the sultan on his visit to England, being charged to India, entered a protest against this payment, but was in a minority of 23 to 198.

The Abyssinian campaign was at any rate a proof that England would grudge neither expense nor exertion in vindicating her authority and asserting her influence in all extra-European lands. But in Europe itself, under Stanley's tenure of the foreign office, there was a strong tendency to hold aloof from quarrels in which British interests were not directly involved. In presence of the striking events which occurred on the continent in 1866 and 1867, England maintained an attitude of strict non-intervention. In the summer of the former year, the map of Europe was remodelled, and the balance of power altered by the result of the war between Austria on the one side and Prussia, in alliance with the Italian kingdom, on the other. In a campaign, which astonished the world by its startling rapidity and overwhelming success, the military strength of the Hapsburg monarchy was shattered. Alike during the campaign and the months of tortuous diplomacy in which Napoleon III. vainly sought to deprive Prussia of the fruits of victory and obtain "compensation" for France, the British government preserved a resolute neutrality. The explanation and vindication of this policy were given by Disraeli in some notable sentences addressed to his constituents on the morrow of the battle of Sadowa, July 3, 1866, when Austria lay prostrate before her northern rival. The conservative leader justified the absention from unnecessary interference in the affairs of Europe, on the ground that England had "outgrown the European continent". "Her position," he added, "is no longer that of a mere European power. England is the metropolis of a great maritime empire, extending to the boundaries of the furthest ocean. . . . She is as ready, and as willing even, to interfere as in the old days when the necessity of her position requires it. There is no

power, indeed, which interferes more than England. She interferes in Asia, because she is really more of an Asiatic than an European power."[1] Thus, almost for the first time, was struck the keynote of the new imperialism, the conception of Britain as a world-empire rather than an European kingdom, which Disraeli in later years was to develop into a national policy.

England, however, did not remain altogether untouched by the consequences of the Austro-Prussian campaign. Napoleon III., angry and humiliated by the German successes and the formation of the new *Bund* or confederation under Prussian hegemony, tried desperately to extort from the victors some territorial accessions for France. Bismarck, not as yet prepared for another war, played skilfully with the hard-driven intriguer of the Tuileries, and entrapped him into submitting a secret draft of a treaty, published afterwards under dramatic circumstances, in which the emperor proposed that France, in return for recognising the North German confederation, should be allowed to invade and annex the kingdom of Belgium.[2] Nothing came of the French emperor's efforts, except that he was able to make a successful protest against the continued occupation of Luxemburg by Prussian troops. That strong fortress belonged to the King of Holland, who as grand duke had been a member of the old German confederation. On the creation of the North German *Bund* France urged that, as the King of Holland had recovered his former sovereign rights, this garrison, which menaced his strategic position, should be withdrawn. Stanley, whose diplomacy on this occasion was justly praised for its dexterity and firmness, suggested that the question should be submitted to a conference of the powers, which was held in London on May 7-11, 1868. As a result a treaty was agreed upon, under the terms of which the fortifications of Luxemburg were demolished, and the territory neutralised under a joint guarantee; the King of Holland, who continued the nominal sovereign, undertaking to maintain it in the future as an open town. Stanley declared that he gave the guarantee with great reluctance, and only to avert the calamity of a war between

[1] Speech at Aylesbury, July 13, 1866.

[2] De la Gorce, *Hist. du Second Empire*, v., 68; Emile Ollivier, *L'Empire Liberal*, viii., 565.

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France and Germany, in which other states would almost certainly have been involved. He maintained that the guarantee was "collective," and therefore did not pledge England to single-handed intervention if the other guaranteeing powers refused to act.[1] In regard to Napoleon's second occupation of Rome, in November, 1867, Stanley was equally discreet, declining a conference, but expressing the strong feeling in England in favour of an early withdrawal of the French troops, who had entered the city after Garibaldi's defeat at Mentana.

While these eventful transactions were in progress in Europe a great measure of imperial consequence was being quietly accomplished in the federation of Canada. On February 19, 1867, Lord Carnarvon, as colonial secretary, moved the second reading of the bill for the confederation of the North American provinces of the British empire. The preceding year had placed London within speaking distance of Ottawa, for on July 28, 1866, success had at last crowned the indomitable perseverance of the American capitalist, Cyrus Field, and his coadjutors in their efforts to establish telegraphic communication between the American continent and Great Britain. Some messages had indeed passed along the cable laid in 1858, but after a few days silence had ensued, and many persons asserted that the cable had never really spoken. With this failure American support was withdrawn; Field turned to English capitalists, and it was a British ship, the *Great Eastern*, one of the daring creations of the engineer Brunel, which finally laid the cable. The exchange of congratulatory messages between the queen and the governor-general of the British North American provinces celebrating the completion of the cable was a happy omen for the success of the measure of confederation.

The new constitution was planned mainly upon the sagacious lines laid down by Lord Durham in his report on the consolidation of Upper and Lower Canada in 1840.[2] The general or federal parliament consisted of two chambers, a house of commons of 181 members and a senate of seventy-two nominated for life by the governor-general. Provincial legislatures,

[1] See Stanley's statement in the house of commons in *Parl. Debates*, clxxxvii., 1918.

[2] See *supra*, p. 10.

somewhat after the pattern of the United States, were to deal with local affairs. The executive was vested in the crown, represented by the governor-general in council, whose salary of £10,000 was to be paid out of colonial funds. Each of the four provinces was to have a lieutenant-governor, to be appointed by the governor-general. Provision was made, as Lord Durham had indicated, for the admission of any other provinces of British North America which should desire to enter the dominion. The newly constructed province of Manitoba, made up of what had been the Hudson Bay territory, was the first to come into the union in 1870. This example was shortly followed by British Columbia with Vancouver Island in 1871, and by Prince Edward Island in 1873. Newfoundland preferred to remain outside the dominion, just as New Zealand remained outside the Australian commonwealth thirty years later. In giving his benediction to the bill as a non-party measure, Earl Russell concluded by expressing a sentiment, very different from that which had animated Disraeli the year before at Aylesbury, though much more common at the time: "I hope that all these provinces may flourish and prosper, and that if it should ever be their wish to separate from this country, we may be ready to listen to their request and to accede to their wishes in any way they may choose". Indeed, though Bright was almost alone in striking a discordant note by his suggestion of independence or annexation to the United States, the imperial aspect of the event was as yet hardly appreciated by most Englishmen.

Questions affecting the relations between capital and labour were forcing themselves to the front, and in 1867 two useful measures were enacted for the improvement of the condition of the workers. By the factory acts extension act the restrictions on the employment of women and children in dangerous trades was extended and the powers of inspectors increased. The other measure, the master and servant act, which has been described as "the first positive success of the trade unions in the legislative field," was due to the initiative of Lord Elcho. Hitherto the employer, in a case of breach of contract, could obtain the workman's arrest on warrant, to be followed by imprisonment with hard labour at the hands of the justices, while the workman could only proceed against the employer

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by civil action. By Lord Elcho's bill, which placed the workman on a level with his employer, the right of the justices to inflict imprisonment in the first instance was taken away, and both parties were to have their mutual remedy for breach of contract by summons before the magistrates, who might order fulfilment of the contract or inflict a moderate fine.[1]

At this time trade unionism was passing through a critical period in its existence. By a recent decision in the court of queen's bench[2] on January 16, 1867, trade unions were left without protection against embezzlement on the part of their own officials, on the ground that their rules were in restraint of trade, Justice Blackburn even hinting that any combination to raise wages was a conspiracy and a misdemeanour. And by a conviction arising out of a strike in London directed by the operative tailors' association, picketing, even when conducted in a peaceful fashion, was rendered illegal.[3] The government, in view of the ambiguous position in which trade unions were placed, appointed a royal commission in February, 1867, under the chairmanship of Sir William Erle, formerly chief justice of the common pleas, to investigate and report on the law. It fell to the lot of this commission to investigate a series of trade outrages which for some years had rendered Sheffield, and in a smaller degree Manchester, notorious. In 1866 public feeling had been shocked by a gunpowder explosion at Sheffield, which wrecked the house of a person obnoxious to one of the trade unions.

Sheffield indeed had long been notorious for crimes committed by trade union agents. Among the worst cases was the murder of James Lindley, who had broken the rules of the sawgrinders' union. One Broadhead, who afterwards admitted having planned and paid for a series of outrages, hired two ruffians, Hallam and Crookes, to do the deed, and Crookes

[1] Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *History of Trades Unionism*, p. 236.

[2] Hornby *v.* Close, Law Reports, 2 Q.B., 153-60.

[3] According to Blackburn it was also opposed to sound morals and public policy. "Everybody knows," he said, in the case of the operative tailors, "that the total aggregate happiness of mankind is increased by every man being left to the unbiassed, unfettered determination of his own will and judgment as to how he will employ his industry and other means of getting on in the world." It was an exaggeration of the fashionable *laissez-faire* doctrine of the day—or rather of the day before; for that doctrine was already beginning to lose some of its sanctity, though not perhaps on the judicial bench.

shot Lindley with an air-gun in August, 1858. Very few offenders had been convicted and ordinary justice seemed unable to cope with the system of secret terrorism. Nor would the crimes have ever been brought to light if the task of investigation had not been entrusted to the royal commission on trade unions. Though the commissioners' report disclosed much that was disgraceful, they found that only twelve out of the sixty Sheffield trade unions were implicated in these crimes, while at Manchester outrages were proved only against a single union. They were also able to report that these outrages had decreased since 1859, when they had been at their worst; indeed the principal trade union leaders at Sheffield had denounced this system of terrorism and demanded a public inquiry. This righteous indignation was, however, unfortunately counterbalanced by the refusal of the saw-grinders' union, against whom there was the longest list of offences, to expel Broadhead and Crookes from its membership. The two scoundrels, owing to the conditions under which the proof of their guilt had been obtained, escaped all punishment at the hands of the law.

In 1866 much excitement had been aroused by the use of ritualistic practices in the Church of England. Eucharistic vestments, incense, lighted candles on the altar, were denounced as symbols of the mass. Lord Shaftesbury, the philanthropic Lord Ashley of earlier years, saw in the celebration of the holy communion at St. Alban's, Holborn, the worship of Jupiter and Juno. The ritualistic clergy, among whom were many devoted to the service of the poor, often turned a deaf ear to the remonstrances or exhortations of their bishops. Amid the storm Lord Derby had recourse to the expedient of appointing a royal commission, which reported in effect that any deviation in ritual or in ornament from the custom of 300 years should be disallowed. High churchmen were filled with alarm by recommendations which seemed to them, in the words of Dr. Pusey, "a complete extirpation of the vestments, root and branch," while Dean Stanley, one of the commissioners, could give only a qualified assent to the report, fearing that the liberty which he considered essential to the Church as an establishment would be endangered by its adoption without reservations. The decision of the privy council delivered by Lord Cairns in the autumn of 1868, in the case of Martin *v.* Mackonochie,

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gave authoritative utterance to the recommendations of the commission. Mr. A. H. Mackonochie, the incumbent of St. Alban's, Holborn, had already been condemned in the court of arches for the use of incense and the mixed chalice at the celebration of the holy communion. By the privy council judgment kneeling before the elements and altar-lights were also declared illegal. Yet in spite of uproar and legal decisions, ritualistic practices went on much as before, and Mackonochie, a priest of great self-denial but of mild obstinacy, suffered a series of prosecutions and suspensions at the instigation of the Church Association, an extreme low Church organisation, and finally resigned his cure fourteen years afterwards at the dying request of Archbishop Tait.

On the death of Archbishop Longley in the autumn of 1868, Dr. Tait, then Bishop of London, had been raised to the primacy, an appointment due to the queen, if Bishop Wilberforce may be believed, and only accepted "most reluctantly and with passion" by Disraeli. A statesman rather than a theologian, Tait exercised an influence which was considerable and beneficent; both in the house of lords and in his archiepiscopal administration. A shrewd, cautious, just man, straightforward in speech and in deed, he strove to guide the Church in the path of moderation and timely concession. A moderate evangelical in doctrine, the proceedings of the ritualistic party were a source of continual irritation and vexation of spirit to him; yet he often succeeded in restraining the fury of their opponents, as extreme high churchmen, who had been wont to look on him as an enemy, came to recognise before his death in 1882.

In the session of 1868 parliament found time to pass several measures of some importance. By the elections petitions act all election petitions were to be tried by a judge to be selected from a rota formed by arrangement among the judges of the superior courts of law. A judge was added to each of the three courts of queen's bench, common pleas, and exchequer, and from each bench a puisne judge was annually to be chosen by his colleagues, to try election cases without a jury, but with power to call witnesses on his own account. His report to the speaker was to be final. The nonconformist conscience and pocket were alike relieved this session by the abolition of

compulsory Church rates in a measure introduced by Gladstone, who in 1866 had for the first time voted for this change; all legal proceedings to enforce the recovery of Church rates came to an end, but the power to make voluntary assessments was left untouched. Public executions were abolished by the capital punishment amendment act, the last man executed in public being Michael Barrett, the Fenian, who was hanged at Newgate on May 26, 1868, for the Clerkenwell outrage. By the public schools act framed on the recommendations of a commission appointed in 1861, new governing bodies were established for seven of the great schools, Winchester, Eton, Westminster, Charterhouse, Harrow, Rugby and Shrewsbury. In this session also the telegraphic system was acquired by the post office at an excessive cost to the country. The use of telegraphy, however, was widely extended by a reduction of the minimum charge in the United Kingdom to one shilling for twenty words irrespective of distance. The spirit of reform extended to the house of lords, which passed a standing order discontinuing voting by proxy.

Before these bills became law, the chief direction of affairs had passed from the hands of Lord Derby. In 1868 he was nearly seventy—he had been born in 1799—and old for his years. By the beginning of the session his health was failing fast. In February he resigned office and Disraeli, his only possible successor on the ministerial side, became first lord of the treasury. Though shattered in constitution the retiring prime minister found strength to come down to the house of lords to bestow a parting malediction on the act abolishing compulsory Church rates in July, 1868; and within a few months of his death which occurred on October 23, 1869, his speech on the disestablishment of the Irish Church showed something of that fiery energy which had won for him in his house of commons days the title of the "Rupert of Debate". In politics Derby has been blamed as an opportunist, an estimate perhaps warranted by his "leap in the dark" on the question of the franchise. But it is probable that he never really understood the subject, nor was deeply interested in it; and he was well content to allow his opinions in this matter to be shaped for him by Disraeli. The details of domestic politics and administrative affairs had little attraction for an intellect versatile,

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brilliant, somewhat superficial, and averse from uncongenial exertion of any kind. A scholar, a sportsman, and a great territorial proprietor, he was happier in his library with its shelves of classics, among his gardens and coverts, or in the company of racing men and racing touts on Doncaster Heath, than in the cabinet or even in the senate. His tastes and habits exposed him, from more intense politicians, to the charge of frivolity, or, as Gladstone preferred to call it, light-mindedness;[1] but there was a serious and earnest side to his character, as was shown in his unswerving devotion to the Church of England, and in his support of the great measure abolishing colonial slavery which it fell to his lot as colonial secretary to carry in 1833.

The author of *Vivian Grey* was at last prime minister, and the "wild ambition" that over thirty years before he had dared to breathe to Lord Melbourne was fulfilled. The "mystery man," as Bishop Wilberforce and others liked to call him, was the accepted leader of the tories, the chief counsellor of the crown. During his three short periods of office as chancellor of the exchequer he had achieved no great reputation either as a financier or an administrator; but out of the ruins left by the schism on the corn laws he had rebuilt the great conservative party; and without possessing the full confidence either of the house of commons, the party, or the nation, he had accomplished a revolution in our representative system.

The changes made in the cabinet by Disraeli were not numerous. George Ward Hunt, an amiable country gentleman, succeeded him as chancellor of the exchequer, and Lord Cairns received the great seal in spite of the complaints of the ejected chancellor, Chelmsford, that he had been removed "without even the month's warning given to a cook". Probably Disraeli's motive in making this change was to strengthen the government in the house of lords, where Malmesbury was a poor successor to Derby in the leadership; but the accession of Cairns to cabinet rank did far more than give strength at the moment to a ministry whose tenure of office had always been precarious. Cairns was not merely a great lawyer; he had gifts of statesmanship and oratory which were of the

[1] Morley, *Gladstone*, ii., 244.

highest service to the conservative party; nor had Disraeli in his two cabinets a colleague in whom he trusted more, and in whose counsel he felt deeper confidence. The old leaders in the house of lords were indeed now rapidly fading away, to be replaced by men who were to be in the front rank during the next generation. Russell had announced his decision not to take office at Christmas, 1867. Granville took his place as liberal leader; and Cranborne entered the house on his succession to the marquisate of Salisbury in April, 1868. CHAP. X.

It was clear that Disraeli's tenure of office could only be of short duration. Hitherto liberal dissensions had kept the conservatives in power; but not even Disraeli, with all his skill as a tactician, could hope to defer the day of defeat much longer. The rise of the Fenian movement in Ireland, its increasing and dangerous activity in 1865 and 1866, the crimes committed by the conspirators in England in 1867, and the measures taken in consequence in that and the following year,[1] had forced Irish affairs into prominence, and made these the paramount issue in domestic politics. On Irish questions the liberals came together again. On March 16, 1868, an Irish member brought forward a motion in the house of commons, on the condition of Ireland. Gladstone seized the opportunity, and by his declaration that the Irish Church as an establishment must cease, reunited the liberal party after two years of disorganised impotency, and brought adullamites like Lowe and radicals like Bright to march under the same banner. Within a week he gave notice of three resolutions, in effect condemning the Irish Church establishment, and declaring it expedient to suspend the exercise of the ecclesiastical patronage of the crown. A dilatory amendment proposed by Stanley on March 30 was defeated by a majority of sixty, and by fifty-six votes the house agreed to go into committee. The first resolution was carried after the Easter recess by a majority of sixty-five. But in spite of these defeats the prime minister did not resign nor dissolve at once, nor could he have done so without considerable public inconvenience. The reform measures were not yet completed, the bills relating to Scotland and Ireland being still before the house. Disraeli therefore pro-

[1] The account of these events is reserved for the next chapter, in which they are dealt with in connexion with the Irish legislation of the Gladstone ministry.

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posed that parliament should carry these bills into law, and that an appeal should be made to the new constituencies in the autumn. This course was adopted, and the session was finished as soon as the necessary business was concluded. Gladstone, however, continued to press forward his motion, and the two remaining resolutions were carried, in addition to a bill suspending the creation of new interests in the Irish Church. The lords threw out the suspensory bill by a majority of ninety-five on June 29.

Parliament was prorogued on July 31, the dissolution following on November 11. The elections, the first under the wider franchise created by the act of 1867, went strongly in favour of the liberals, especially in the boroughs. In the counties they sustained some bad defeats, notably that of Gladstone in south-west Lancashire. But he had triumphed in the country as a whole, and the liberals returned to the house in a majority of 112. Disraeli did not wait for the meeting of parliament, but resigned on December 2. He declined the queen's offer of a peerage for himself, but accepted one for his wife, who was created Viscountess Beaconsfield.

CHAPTER XI.

THE FIRST GLADSTONE MINISTRY; THE IRISH CHURCH AND IRISH LAND.

WHEN Disraeli went out Gladstone as a matter of course came in. The events of the past few years, the death of Palmerston, the reorganisation of both parties, the disappearance of the protectionist remnant from one side, the extinction of the old whig element on the other, and the new vigour which had been poured into the constituencies by the franchise act—all these things had restored to English politics that clean-cut dualism without which the parliamentary system does not work quite smoothly. In its modern development the constitution almost seems to demand that there shall be two great parties of something like equal strength, clearly divided from one another by well-marked differences of opinion. The pendulum will not swing true nor can the electoral balance be shifted from time to time without friction or awkward jarring when there is such a confusion of principles and interests as that which prevailed for more than twenty years after the repeal of the corn laws. And the machine runs at its best when the conflict of opinion is accentuated and defined by the opposition of personalities, and is embodied in a prolonged duel between two leaders of commanding eminence and undisputed authority over their followers. Such a situation had arisen at the end of the year 1868. Each party had a chief who stood far above all rivalry in his own ranks. For the next few years the interest of English politics centres round the striking and dramatically contrasted figures of Gladstone and Disraeli.

The disappearance of elder statesmen had cleared the field for these two champions, both of whom, though still in the full vigour of their mature powers, had behind them long careers of remarkable service. Both were great parliamentarians, both

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were party-men in a sense in which the term could hardly have been applied to any of their predecessors since the days of Pitt and Fox; and it was a strange result of circumstances and accident that each, in some respects, seemed better fitted to take command of the opposing host. Disraeli's sympathy with the masses, his understanding of the inner meaning of the democratic movement and the new forces of society, might have qualified him for the leadership of a progressive party; Gladstone, with his ecclesiastical and forensic temper, his reverence for the formalism of the past, never quite shook off his earlier conservatism. With much opportunism and much of merely personal ambition, both responded to a genuine and deep-seated sentiment that called for expression; Disraeli brought back to English politics the spirit of Romance, while Gladstone vindicated the claims of Righteousness. In each the predominant feeling led to errors: Disraeli could sometimes be justly charged with tawdriness and theatricality; Gladstone's fine-drawn morality often degenerated into unctuousness. Two different aspects of national development appealed to them with varying force: Gladstone, the political legatee of Peel, was at his best with some complicated problem of legislation or finance; his rival, who looked back to Chatham and Bolingbroke, was intent on maintaining the unique position of England among the nations. The liberals under Gladstone became more closely identified with economical government, and with those reforms which tended towards the abolition of privilege and political inequality; the conservatives, taught by Disraeli, found their main interest in a vigorous foreign policy and the growth of the imperialist idea. With all his acuteness Disraeli sometimes misunderstood the British people; and Gladstone occasionally forgot the British empire. Both men were the objects of enthusiastic devotion and unmeasured detestation; and during their own lifetime it seemed impossible to estimate them quite fairly. Both at any rate were men of the highest intellectual power, who must have become conspicuous on any stage. Gladstone, if he had not turned to politics, might have been a great churchman or a great lawyer; Disraeli, as it was, only just missed a place among the masters of imaginative and satirical literature.

On the evening of his resignation, Disraeli sent to the news-

papers a statement explaining his position and declaring that he and his colleagues had not thought it desirable to hold their offices till the assembling of a parliament "in which, in the present aspect of affairs, they are sensible they must be in a minority". On December 4, two days after the publication of this manifesto, Gladstone had an audience of the queen at Windsor and accepted the command to form a ministry. The next day he again went to Windsor, and was able to submit the names of those to whom he proposed to offer the more important posts in his administration.

The circumstances rendered the task of cabinet-making comparatively easy. The liberals found themselves, at this crisis, almost a united party. The franchise question, so long a cause of dissension, had been settled, and, in the attack on the Irish Church establishment during the last session of the late parliament, the party had learnt to act together. Thus it was that Gladstone found himself able to form a cabinet which should include diverse shades of liberal opinion. Lowe, unpopular with the working classes on account of his contemptuous speeches when the reform bill was in debate, became chancellor of the exchequer; while Bright, still regarded as one of the tribunes of the people, whose eloquence had done much to secure household suffrage, entered the cabinet as president of the board of trade. The choice in neither case was a happy one. Lowe, who is said to have owed his appointment to an article on Mr. Gladstone's financial statements which he had contributed to the *Home and Foreign Review*,[1] was a man of much intellectual power and dauntless energy. But he had studied financial and economic theories more closely than the details of business; and he carried into his new office an aptitude for giving offence which almost amounted to genius. When Robert Lowe saw a head in his way he was pretty sure to hit it—especially if the head was a soft one. His colleagues were gratified by an exhibition of his peculiar talent in his first budget statement in April, 1869. The city of London was still liberal, though it was beginning to waver, and prudence suggested that it should not be offended or alarmed. The chancellor of the exchequer tactfully remarked that he did not care

[1] Lord Acton, who was editor of the *Review*, was told so by Lowe himself (Morley, *Gladstone*, ii., 254).

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a straw about the money market and that the bank of England deserved no more respect than any other private institution. John Bright's presence in the cabinet undoubtedly secured for the ministry the confidence of the more advanced section of the party. But in his administrative duties at the board of trade he did little else than sign the papers prepared for him by the permanent officials; and splendid as were his oratorical gifts he failed in the rapid give-and-take of debate.

Some other appointments brought more strength to the cabinet. At the war office Cardwell was thoroughly fitted for the much needed task of army reform; nor could foreign affairs have been entrusted to sounder guidance than to that of Clarendon, whose name carried influence in the councils of Europe. The leadership in the house of lords was entrusted to that suave and tactful peer, Granville, the new colonial secretary. In the selection of lord chancellor, the Irish Church question presented a difficulty. Sir Roundell Palmer, the attorney general under Palmerston and Russell, declined the great seal on account of conscientious scruples as to disendowment; and Gladstone, following a precedent set by Disraeli in the case of Lord Cairns, conferred the chancellorship on William Page Wood, a lord justice of appeal, who on taking office assumed the title of Lord Hatherley. The cabinet also included the Earl de Grey and Ripon as president of the council; the Earl of Kimberley, lord privy seal; Henry A. Bruce (afterwards Lord Aberdare), home secretary; the Duke of Argyll, secretary of state for India; Lord Dufferin, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster; Lord Hartington, postmaster general; Childers, first lord of the admiralty; and Goschen, president of the poor law board. The appointment of Forster as vice-president of the council gave assurance that the cause of education, to which he had so long devoted his energies, would be taken in hand, though some disappointment was felt that he was not included in the cabinet.

It was evident from the outset that Irish affairs would demand a large share of the new parliament's attention. Not only were the liberals bound by Gladstone's resolutions, which had overthrown the late government, to take in hand the disestablishment of the Irish Church, but the state of Ireland was admitted by both parties to be the question of the day. "My mission is to pacify Ireland," were Gladstone's words on

first receiving tidings that he was called upon to form a ministry; and earlier in the year Stanley, then a member of his father's government, had told a Bristol audience that "the painful, the dangerous, the discreditable state of things that unhappily continued to exist in Ireland was hardly ever absent from the mind of anybody taking part in public affairs". Gladstone, indeed, uttered an unpleasant truth when he said that the Fenian conspiracy had had an important influence with respect to Irish policy.[1] The suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, the armed rescue of the Fenian prisoners at Manchester and the Clerkenwell explosion, had shocked and disturbed the popular mind.

The Fenian Brotherhood, under whose guidance these outrages were perpetrated, differed widely, both in its origin and its methods, from most other Irish secret societies. The leaders were of Irish birth, but the movement was planned and organised in the United States, whither the stream of emigration had flowed unceasingly ever since the famine. There, too, the exiles of 1848 found a refuge, bringing with them all their old hatred of England. In the land of their adoption Irishmen had been able to play an important part, and when the civil war broke out many fought in the armies both of the union and the confederacy. Thus was speedily developed a new type, the Irish-American, in whom the virtues of combination and discipline were mingled with a spirit of reckless enterprise and assurance. John O'Mahoney, the chief founder of the Fenian Brotherhood, as it came to be called, was a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, who had taken part in Smith O'Brien's rising; and it was in New York that the plans of O'Mahoney and his friends for a new secret organisation took shape in 1858. Its object was nothing less than the establishment of an independent Irish republic. In Ireland the chief direction of the conspiracy was entrusted to James Stephens, under the title of "head-centre". The movement was not agrarian in its character, nor did the leaders succeed in gaining any strong hold over the peasantry; and from the Roman catholic priesthood they neither sought nor obtained support.

Between 1863 and 1865 was the period of greatest Fenian activity; but before the commission of any overt act of rebel-

[1] *Parl. Debates*, May 31, 1869.

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lion treachery did its work. The Irish executive gained knowledge of the plot from an informer, and the Dublin police, on the night of September 15, 1865, raided the office of *The Irish People*, the Fenian organ, and arrested O'Donovan Rossa, the proprietor, and the principal members of the staff. Other arrests followed; and the prisoners, with the exception of Stephens who escaped from jail, were put on their trial for treason-felony, convicted, and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. But many leaders of the conspiracy remained at large, and active agents were at work swearing-in members of the society in the counties of Dublin, Cork, Tipperary, and Waterford. Discoveries of factories of pikes, bullets, and cartridges began to be made; and attempts to tamper with the troops were reported. So threatening, indeed, was the aspect of affairs in Ireland that on February 14, 1866, Lord Wodehouse (afterwards Earl of Kimberley), the lord-lieutenant, demanded the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act on the ground that the country was on the verge of armed rebellion.

The Russell cabinet agreed and a bill was forthwith brought before parliament, to empower the Irish executive to apprehend and detain until September 1 any persons suspected of conspiracy. Both houses sat specially on Saturday, February 18. In the commons a handful of dissentients took a division; but the opponents of the ministerial proposal only mustered six supporters, and within a few minutes after the announcement of the numbers the bill was read three times and passed. The peers were sitting in readiness, and, as soon as the bill reached them, hastened it through their house. The news was at once telegraphed to Granville, who was in waiting on the queen at Osborne, and her signature was without delay affixed to the document appointing the commissioners to give the royal assent. The house of lords even met at eleven that same night; but owing, as it is said, to a luggage train blocking the way of the messenger despatched from Osborne, it was not until Sunday, when both houses formally met, that the bill became law. The Irish executive, however, had not waited to strike until it was in possession of the additional powers conferred on it by the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act; for on the 18th a great police raid had been carried out which resulted in

over a hundred arrests. The passing of the act was followed by many other arrests, and large numbers of the Irish-Americans hastily left for the United States. The scene of Fenian activity shifted for a time to Canada, where, towards the end of May, 1866, 1,200 armed men crossed the river Niagara near Buffalo. Warnings, however, had reached the Canadian government in April, and the raiders were soon driven back over the frontier by the loyal volunteers. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, and six Fenians who had been captured were tried by court-martial and shot. A proclamation issued by the United States government, giving warning that no infraction of neutrality would be permitted, put an end to any hopes that the Fenians may have entertained of gaining American support or intervention from the American government.

In Ireland there ensued a transient lull in Fenian activity. But Lord Derby's government, on their accession to power in 1866, deemed it necessary to continue and even to renew the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. The restoration of quiet and confidence seemed so well assured at the date of the opening of parliament, February 5, 1867, that the queen's speech announced a state of tranquillity in Ireland and expressed a hope that administration by the ordinary law might with safety be resumed. But the government and the Irish executive were not suffered to rest in this sense of restored security. A few days after these words of hope had been read, a band of several hundred armed men assembled at Cahersiveen in county Kerry and sacked the coastguard station at Kells. Troops were despatched from Cork, and the insurgents after capturing some arms, shooting at a mounted policeman bearing despatches, and interrupting the passage of messages by the Atlantic cable for a few hours, withdrew into the mountains. The peasantry had shown little inclination to join in the attack; and by February 18 the Irish secretary was able to inform the house of commons that order was restored in Kerry. The government had to admit the abandonment of all hope of a return in Ireland to the ordinary law, and by the end of the month the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act was renewed.

The revival of Fenian activity had been brought home to the English people in a new and startling manner. At a

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great meeting of Fenians held in America in January, the resolution had been taken to "carry the war" into England. The first manifestation of this new policy appeared at Chester on February 11, 1867. This was nothing less than a plot to surprise the castle, garrisoned only by three officers and a hundred men, and secure possession of the arms and ammunition stored there. It is said that the design of the conspirators, after mastering the castle, was to cut the telegraph wires, tear up the rails, and then make good their escape to Ireland. Success depended on preserving secrecy almost up to the very moment of attack, and here the plot broke down. On the morning of Sunday, the 10th, Walpole, the home secretary, received information of an extraordinary influx of suspicious-looking persons into Chester. Instructions were at once given that the trains as they entered the station should be watched. In the course of the day the number of strangers in Chester had largely increased, and at three o'clock 500 men were ascertained to have arrived. Early in the afternoon these persons began to assemble in threatening bodies. The arrival of a company of the 54th regiment, despatched from Manchester by the home secretary's instructions,[1] to some extent allayed the deep anxiety of the inhabitants. All through the night large bodies of citizens, sworn in as special constables, paraded the town; but the attack on the castle was never made, and when daylight came the Fenians were found to have melted away. Only a few arrests were made in Chester itself; sixty-seven men suspected of participation in the plot were arrested as they crossed to Ireland.

The rising in Kerry was followed, early in March, by similar insurrectionary movements in other parts of Ireland. Half-armed bodies of Fenians led by Irish-Americans, who had fought in the civil war, assembled in the neighbourhood of Dublin, Drogheda, and Limerick. Telegraph wires were broken and obstructions placed on the railways, and for a few hours Dublin was cut off from communication with Limerick and with Cork. The Fenian plan of campaign apparently aimed at creating a vague sense of danger in many quarters, so that the government, uncertain where to strike first, might dissipate its

[1] Walpole, *History of Twenty-five Years*, ii., 295. The writer was private secretary to his father, the home secretary, in 1867.

military forces. But the services of the troops were scarcely required. The Royal Irish Constabulary had little difficulty in repelling the sporadic attacks which were made on small detachments or lonely barracks. In a few days the insurrection was crushed, almost without bloodshed. The rebels dispersed amid the wind, ice, and snow of the "Fenian winter". Of the leaders many were captured, nor did the juries display any unreadiness to convict. No one, however, was executed. Arrests of real and suspected Fenians continued for some months, reports of secret drilling occasionally reached the ears of the police, and even so late as December 26, 1867, a martello tower near Cork was raided for arms and ammunition, and two coastguard men and their wives were surprised over their tea. The government from time to time renewed the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland. By the summer of 1868 there were no persons detained under its provisions, nor were there any prisoners awaiting trial in Ireland for an offence connected with the Fenian conspiracy. CHAP. XI.

But in the autumn of 1867 England itself had had experience of Fenian outrage. Early in September two men suspected of burglary had been apprehended by the Manchester police; further investigations caused them to be identified by the Dublin police as well-known Fenians, Deasy and Kelly by name. Pending a further remand, the Manchester magistrates detained the prisoners in the city jail. The hour and route of their journey from the police court to the jail were known, and the prison van was waylaid and attacked by a band of forty or fifty men armed with revolvers. Some difficulty was encountered in forcing an entrance into the van, as Sergeant Brett, who sat inside, courageously refused to give up the keys. A shot, however, fired through the key-hole by William O'Meara Allen, the Fenian leader, killed the sergeant. Deasy and Kelly were released and eventually escaped to America. The assailants scattered, but some twenty were captured, the crowd joining in the chase. Altogether twenty-six prisoners were committed for trial before the special commission which was sent down to Manchester, and five were convicted and sentenced to death. Three of these—Allen, Larkin, and Gould—were hanged. The friends of the condemned men had rendered a reprieve more difficult by threats of revenge, a disorderly mob even forcing its

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way into the home office. There was much question at the time as to the wisdom of inflicting the extreme penalty. Undoubtedly the crime was that of murder; but their youth, and the courage with which they met their fate, gave a certain romantic interest to men who had ventured their lives in rescuing their comrades; and the "Manchester martyrs" were long remembered in Ireland.

The futile attempt to blow up a part of Clerkenwell jail was a particularly atrocious enterprise. With the idea of delivering two Fenians, Burke and Casey, a barrel of gunpowder was exploded between three and four o'clock on the afternoon of December 13, 1867, under the outer wall of the yard in which the prisoners would in ordinary circumstances have been taking their exercise. The explosion destroyed sixty yards of the prison wall, and in Corporation Lane, a street of poor houses skirting one side of the jail, six persons were killed on the spot and over 100 more injured, six of whom afterwards died. The indignation excited by the outrage was intense. Thousands of special constables were sworn in, and Disraeli, as chancellor of the exchequer, acting on his personal authority, promptly sent public money for the relief of the sufferers. Five men and a woman were tried for the murder of a woman killed by the explosion, but a conviction was secured only in the case of Michael Barrett, who was hanged. It seemed for the moment as if the cabinet had not been guilty of exaggeration in the statement made in the queen's speech of November 19, 1867, that "the treasonable conspiracy commonly known as Fenianism, baffled and repressed in Ireland, had assumed in England the power of organised violence and assassination". But the Clerkenwell explosion proved to be the last serious outrage on English soil; though the assassination at Ottawa on April 7, 1868, of Thomas d'Arcy McGee, a Canadian statesman, who had denounced Irish disloyalty, is generally attributed to Fenian agency. An attempt made on the Duke of Edinburgh's life at Port Jackson, in New South Wales, on March 12, 1868, for which the perpetrator O'Farrell suffered execution, was probably the act of an Irish fanatic who was not prompted by any association.

Fenianism was not directly connected with the political grievances of Ireland. It was a symptom of that vague but deeply

rooted unrest from which the country was suffering—the result of an unhappy history and of many wrongs for which Englishmen, in their tardy repentance, could not hold their ancestors for generations guiltless. And there was now a statesman in office, resolved as perhaps no English minister had ever been before, to remedy the more obvious injuries that had been inflicted upon Ireland, and to remove the sense of wrong that burnt in the hearts of the Irish people. Gladstone, at fifty-nine, was in the full vigour of all his extraordinary powers of mind and body, famous as a financier, an administrator, and an orator, with only one rival who could hold his own with him in the house of commons, and with no rival at all—for the admiration inspired by Disraeli was still crossed by an element of distrust—in his influence over the great body of the working men and the middle classes. Behind him the prime minister had a solid majority, a triumphant array of united liberals, who had at length shaken themselves free from the whig tradition, and were ready to follow their leader in any enterprise of sweeping and audacious reform. Liberalism was at its zenith: more hopeful and more self-confident than it had been since the first reform bill or than it was again to become during the remainder of the nineteenth century.

The Fenian outrages, said Gladstone,[1] had produced an "attitude of attention and preparedness" on the part of Englishmen with regard to Ireland. To him and many other English liberals it appeared that the two evils in Ireland that cried the loudest for immediate redress arose from the position of the Church and the tenure of the land. The "alien Church," the creed and ritual of the Anglican minority which had been forced on the most intensely catholic peasantry of Europe, was to be taken in hand first. That the Irish establishment was theoretically indefensible had long been Gladstone's opinion, and on the motion brought forward by Dillwyn in June, 1865, he had admitted as much, though at the time he thought the question too remote for practical politics.[2] The Irish agitation, and perhaps also the liberal victory, had given it urgency. The new parliament met on December 10, 1868, and the cabinet set to work on the preparation of an Irish Church bill. In the

[1] Speech at Greenwich, Dec. 21, 1868.

[2] *A Chapter of Autobiography*, p. 42.

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debates of the preceding session on the suspensory resolutions people had become familiarised with the fact that the "national Church" in Ireland was a Church which included only a small fraction of the Irish people, variously estimated to amount to between 8 and 12 per cent. of the population. Even in protestant Ulster the Anglicans numbered only 20 per cent. of the population; in Leinster they formed only 11 per cent., in Munster 5, and in Connaught 4 per cent. In many of the 2,400 parishes into which Ireland was divided for ecclesiastical purposes, there was not a single protestant. In only four of the thirty-three dioceses of Ireland did the Anglican percentage amount to 20. In nine dioceses it varied from a little over two to three and a fraction.

On March 1, 1869, Gladstone unfolded his plan before the house of commons. According to the provisions of the bill, the union between the Churches of England and of Ireland would be dissolved, and the Church of Ireland cease to be established by law from January 1, 1871. The ecclesiastical courts in Ireland were to be abolished, the bishops were to cease to be represented in the house of lords, where since 1801 one archbishop and three bishops had sat in sessional rotation, and all ecclesiastical corporations were to be dissolved. But though the ecclesiastical laws were to lose their force, so far as they related to the whole community, all the existing rules and usages of the Church were to subsist as a form of voluntary contract, binding the bishops, the clergy, and the laity, then constituting the established Church, until they should be altered by a governing body to be constituted by members of the Anglican communion in Ireland. Ample time was given to the clergy and laity to constitute a synod or representative assembly, which was to be incorporated by law, and which the queen in council would be empowered to recognise. Disendowment was, on the other hand, to be immediate. Gladstone proposed that the entire property of the Irish Church, which he reckoned at £16,000,000, should be vested forthwith in commissioners nominated for ten years. The tithe rent-charge, the Church's chief source of revenue, was to be redeemed by the landlords and would produce, it was estimated, £9,000,000. The lands or permanent rents were valued at £6,250,000.

This total of £16,000,000 was to be divided into two parts,

one part, amounting to between £8,000,000 and £9,000,000 being either restored directly to the new governing body or devoted by way of compensation to the satisfaction of claims arising from the disestablishment of the Church. All private endowments bestowed since the Restoration of 1660 were to be retained by the Church. Bishops, dignitaries, and beneficed clergymen might either continue to discharge their duties and draw their income for the rest of their lives, or accept a sum paid down in commutation; and curates who had been two years in the same parish were to share in the compensation granted to their rectors or vicars. Compensation was also to be granted to the holders of advowsons, to clerks, sextons, cathedral officers, and the officials of the ecclesiastical courts or the ecclesiastical commission. With the disendowment of the Irish Church the grant made to the Roman catholic seminary of Maynooth and the *Regium Donum* to the presbyterians were also to cease, subject to compensation from the funds of the disestablished Church. The other part or surplus, which after these claims had been satisfied was reckoned to amount to between £7,000,000 and £8,000,000, was to be employed in the relief of unavoidable calamity and suffering not touched by the poor law. Those churches which were not in ruins were to be handed over to the new Church body; as well as the episcopal residences and glebe-houses, subject in their case to the repayment of all building charges already advanced by the state. Small portions of adjacent glebe land might also be acquired at a reasonable valuation. The claims of existing tenants of glebe lands were, at Bright's suggestion, also recognised by the insertion of clauses which gave them a right of pre-emption on any such lands sold by the commissioners.

The bill was read a second time on March 24, 1869, by a majority of 118, and during the Easter recess Gladstone was full of hope that negotiations towards a compromise would take place. But no satisfactory communications on the part of the heads of the Irish Church reached him; and the clergy raised the flag of no surrender, denouncing the bill at diocesan meetings as "highly offensive to Almighty God," and "the greatest national sin ever committed". In the eyes of many Englishmen it was not the Irish Church alone that was in danger. Not a few men of education and intelligence held

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that the union of Church and State, as a principle, the protestant supremacy, and the sanctity of property were at stake. The question of the Irish Church had, however, been decided at the elections, and the bill which had undergone little alteration in committee was read a third time on May 31. In the upper house the real battle began. Before the second reading in the lords, which was fixed for June 14, a meeting of conservative peers decided that the bill should be opposed. But the queen, who made no secret of her disapproval of Gladstone's action in raising the question,[1] viewed with alarm the rejection of a bill carried by a large and steady majority in the house of commons. Once more she counselled a course of conciliation, urging her view both on the Archbishop of Canterbury and on Lord Derby.[2] The archbishop fully realised the danger which a rejection of the bill would involve; but Derby, to whom the queen also wrote, listened to no counsels of moderation, even arguing that the queen was bound by her coronation oath to withhold the royal assent.

On the 14th Granville moved the second reading before the largest gathering of peers assembled in the upper chamber within living memory. Two alternative courses lay open to the opposition: to throw out the bill, or to consent to a second reading on the understanding that the measure should be subjected to drastic amendment in committee. For four animated evenings the fate of the bill hung in the balance. Thirlwall, the Bishop of St. David's, was the only member of the episcopal bench who both spoke and voted in favour of the measure, though the Archbishop of Canterbury, who felt to the full the weight of responsibility, refused to be a party to its entire rejection. Lords Carnarvon and Salisbury were opposed to the policy of the bill, but both spoke in favour of its being read a second time. Lord Derby, hovering almost on the brink of the grave, attacked the bill in language of impassioned eloquence. The most effective speech in denunciation of the bill came from Magee, the Bishop of Peterborough, who as a former Dean of Cork now threw in his lot with his Irish brethren. In a peroration of which fragments still linger on the lips of men, he poured scorn on those peers who counselled submission to the

[1] *Life of Wilberforce*, iii., 97.

[2] Davidson and Benham, *Life of Archbishop Tait*, ii., 8-14.

arguments of prudence, whose entreaty was only to be "spared to live a little longer as an order, that they might sit upon red benches in a gilded house and play at legislation". But neither the rhetoric of the Bishop of Peterborough nor the powerful arguments in defence of the established Church with which Lord Cairns wound up the debate, availed to restrain thirty-six conservative peers from voting with the government. The division was taken at three o'clock in the morning of the 19th, and the second reading was carried by 179 votes to 146. Among the abstentions were included the two archbishops and the Bishops of Oxford (Wilberforce) and Chester (Jacobson).

For the moment the bill had weathered the storm; yet it was well known that drastic amendments would be inserted by the lords in committee. The queen, who had followed the whole course of the measure with deep concern, again urged conciliatory counsels, and wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury suggesting his serious consideration of the risk the Church might run of obtaining in the end worse terms, if the bill suffered complete shipwreck by an insistence on amendments which the government could not accept. All efforts towards conciliation or compromise, for the moment, appeared fruitless, and the lords in committee set to work to shape the disendowment provisions to the satisfaction of the majority. Amendments were inserted which gave back to the disestablished Church an additional sum of between £3,000,000 and £4,000,000. All endowments bestowed since the second year of Elizabeth were to be retained; the parsonage houses restored without repayment of the building charges; the compensation to curates to be a charge upon the public funds; and the payment of a lump sum substituted in place of the personal commutation of the incumbents' revenues. Moreover the words in the preamble, declaring that the surplus should not be applied to religious purposes, were struck out and the principle of concurrent endowment introduced in their place. A government whose "three *corps d'àrmée*," to adopt Gladstone's words,[1] were Scottish presbyterians, English and Welsh nonconformists, and Irish Roman catholics, could not accept amendments of such a nature, and Gladstone informed the queen that persistence by

[1] Morley, *Gladstone*, ii., 259.

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the house of lords in its course would raise a stronger agitation against the episcopal seats in that house than had been seen for over 200 years.

When the bill came back to the house of commons in July all the amendments involving the principle of concurrent endowment and the disposal of the surplus were rejected. Gladstone agreed, however, to the payment of a lump sum of half a million in satisfaction of private benefactions, and to certain other rearrangements which would increase the property left to the Church by an additional sum of £280,000. Before the bill returned to the lords, renewed efforts towards compromise were set on foot. The queen, anxious to avoid a constitutional crisis, put Gladstone into communication with Dr. Wellesley,[1] the Dean of Windsor, who acted as an intermediary between the government and the Archbishop of Canterbury. Meanwhile the bill in its re-amended shape had reached the peers. They were now exasperated by Gladstone's contemptuous reference to them as men who must have been living in a balloon; and on July 20, in spite of the negotiations which were in progress, the words in the preamble concerning the disposition of the surplus, reinserted by the commons, were again struck out by a majority of seventy-eight, and words involving the principle of concurrent endowment were restored.

A deadlock seemed inevitable. Even in the cabinet there was division, Gladstone inclining to leave the lords to do their worst, while the majority of his colleagues counselled a continuance of the negotiations. The end came suddenly and from an unexpected quarter. On July 22, Gladstone happened to be unwell, and Granville, conciliatory and diplomatic, accepted the suggestion of a conference proposed by Lord Cairns, the leader of the opposition in the upper house. At this conference a compromise was effected, Cairns agreeing to terms on his own responsibility. The battle was at an end. As the result of the struggle the conservative peers had secured to the Irish Church additional property amounting to about £850,000 and a concession that the appropriation of the surplus should be left to the unfettered decision of parliament. A convention of the Irish Church quickly set to work to reorganise the ecclesiastical

[1] Memorandum by Gladstone, printed in *Life*, ii., 273.

system, and by January 1, 1871, when disestablishment came into operation, the new constitution and the Church synod, consisting of the bishops with 208 clerical and 416 lay representatives of the several dioceses, were ready to be incorporated by royal charter. Bishops were to be elected by diocesan synods; the primate by the bishops from their own number. Patronage was vested in boards of nomination representing both the diocese and the parish. Ecclesiastical courts were set up in each diocese with an appeal to the general synod. Thus was the Irish Church separated from the Church of England, disestablished and disendowed, and the first article in Gladstone's scheme of Irish pacification carried into effect.

Several other measures of some importance were passed in a house of commons now freed from the long Palmerstonian tradition of inaction. By the debtors act imprisonment for debt was abolished, save in cases where a debtor refused to pay instalments which were ordered by the court. The parliamentary privilege of immunity from arrest for debt disappeared under the bankruptcy act, which made important changes in the direction of giving the creditors control over the insolvent's estate. Trades unions obtained some recognition by an act which conferred on them the same protection in regard to their funds against embezzlement by dishonest officials that friendly societies already enjoyed, and it became no longer possible for a fraudulent secretary to plead in defence the illegality of his union, on the grounds that its rules or practices might operate in restraint of trade. There seemed even a likelihood that the house of lords would reform its own constitution, a bill introduced by Lord Russell, to give the crown within certain limitations the right of conferring life peerages, having passed safely through committee. It was however thrown out on the third reading.

The question of national education had of late attracted increasing attention. The recent successes of Prussia had helped to arouse interest in the question; for the Prussian system of education was known to be excellent, and far better organised than the English, which, as public opinion was now beginning to recognise, was chaotic and in many ways extremely imperfect. Royal commissions had already inquired into the state of the universities and the public schools, and people

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were slowly growing accustomed to the idea of state interference in such matters. Forster, the vice-president of the council, had been a member of the commission appointed in 1864 to examine the education given in the grammar schools and other educational foundations of a like nature. In their report the commissioners passed an unfavourable verdict on middle-class education, and recommended a system of state inspection and the establishment of provincial boards which should take over the management of the schools. But the feeling of the country, so far as it took any interest in the matter, was still opposed to state interference; and the endowed schools bill of the Gladstone government had to meet the opposition of many vested interests. In its final shape the act only dealt with the trust deeds of the schools, many of which were antiquated and absurd. Commissioners were appointed to draw up schemes to be laid before the privy council and ultimately before parliament. By this measure 3,000 schools, with a total income of £592,000, were affected.

An act carried this session at the instance of the Archbishop of Canterbury, enabling an aged or infirm bishop to retire on one-third of his episcopal income at the cost of his successor, provided Gladstone with his first opportunity of Church patronage. Dr. Sumner, Bishop of Winchester, after forty-two years' capable administration of his diocese, took advantage of the act, and Gladstone translated Bishop Samuel Wilberforce, his old friend and supporter, from Oxford to the vacant see. At the same time the premier raised a storm of indignation among high churchmen and low churchmen alike by his selection of Dr. Frederick Temple, a liberal and a broad churchman, to succeed the venerable and highly orthodox Bishop Phillpotts in the see of Exeter. All the dogmatic fury which had raged ten years earlier round *Essays and Reviews*, a volume of papers by seven university graduates, of extremely "broad" and in some cases it was thought of heterodox views, to which Temple had contributed, blazed out again. Dr. Pusey and Lord Shaftesbury sat side by side as chairman and vice-chairman of a committee of protest against one who, in Pusey's words, had "participated in the ruin of countless souls". But Gladstone declined to yield, and Temple, who displayed his well-known independence and fearlessness in refusing to reply to

his assailants until after his consecration, justified the premier's selection by an admirable career at Exeter, and afterwards as Bishop of London and Archbishop of Canterbury. CHAP. XI.

Ireland continued to occupy the attention of ministers and parliament, and the second great item of the Gladstone reform programme was brought upon the stage in the session of 1870. Disraeli, a little before the famine days, had told the house of commons that it was the duty of an English minister to effect, by his policy in Ireland, those changes which a revolution would accomplish by force. The causes of Irish discontent, he had said, were a starving population, an absentee landlord class, and an alien Church. The "alien Church" had fallen; emigration had reduced the population to half its former numbers; and for those who were left the agricultural condition was improving. Yet agrarian discontent existed among multitudes of tenants who had held aloof from the Fenian movement and saw no material benefit likely to accrue to them from Church disestablishment. Their holdings were small and too numerous; the common tenure was tenancy at will, without lease or written contract, and terminable at six months' notice; and it was still true, as the report of the Devon commission had stated, that in Ireland it was the tenant who made the improvements, that the rent was raised on these improvements, and that crime and disorder were the outcome. In legal theory the freehold, as in England, was the landlord's, and the occupier was held to enter into a free contract for the use of the land; but in reality competition was absent. The tenant, as a general rule, was destitute of capital, and, in the absence of manufactures or large towns, had to obtain land, emigrate, or starve. Moreover, by law the whole of the improvements went to the landlord at the close of the tenancy, though he might have left the tenant to carry them out at his own cost. In the circumstances it would have been fairer to treat the Irish farmer as a copyholder and the landlord's property as controlled by custom. In Ulster, indeed, this view prevailed, and the tenant was entitled to have a fair rent fixed, not by competition, but by valuation, nor was it raised on his own improvements; and he had also the right of transferring his occupancy. After the famine legislation had followed a different course. Not only was the English idea of contract

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emphasised in Ireland, but under the encumbered estates act, 1849, much land had passed from insolvent landlords into the hands of men determined to work the land as an investment, and landed property changed hands on the same principles that govern the sale of chattels.

Gladstone was as ignorant as most people in England of Irish land tenure; but in Chichester Fortescue, the Irish secretary, and Sir Edward Sullivan, the Irish attorney-general, he had colleagues possessed of knowledge and experience, and it was on their advice that he largely relied in framing his land bill. The introduction of the question, and still more the differences which were disclosed in regard to its settlement, aroused some dissension in the cabinet. Clarendon, the foreign secretary, a Palmerstonian, disliked the idea of tenant right; Lowe and Cardwell, strict political economists of the Ricardo school, saw in free contract the salvation of Irish landlords and tenants;[1] while Bright wished to buy out the landlords and establish peasant proprietorship.

The principle of dual ownership prevailed; and on February 15, 1870, the prime minister was able to introduce an Irish land bill which took the Ulster custom as a basis of legislation. The policy of the bill, as Gladstone explained in a letter to Manning, the Roman catholic archbishop of Westminster, was "to prevent the landlord from using the terrible weapon of unjust eviction by so framing the handle that it should cut his hands with the sharp edge of pecuniary damage". A tenant evicted without any fault on his own side was to receive whatever the custom of the country gave him, or, in the absence of any custom, compensation according to a scale. The possession of this right on the part of the tenant would, it was hoped, not only put an end to wanton evictions, but would also check increases of rent only formidable on account of the power of ejection behind them. The tenant, on the other hand, was not to be entitled to compensation for any improvement which did not really increase the letting value of the holding. Tenants at a rent not exceeding £50 were to be incapable of

[1] Lowe was inclined to resign office sooner than consent to the prime minister's proposals in their entirety; and though he ultimately accepted the scheme, it was with misgiving and a prediction that Gladstone was "steering straight upon the rocks" (Morley, *Gladstone*, ii., 292).

contracting themselves out of the act; and the landlord, in any case, could only do so by granting a lease of thirty-one years. At the instance of the president of the board of trade, the "Bright clauses" were added to the bill, allowing loans to be granted to tenants who wished to buy the holdings in their occupation from their landlords.

Public opinion was so strongly in favour of the general principle of the measure that the conservatives did not venture to oppose it directly. Disraeli voted for the second reading, after a speech strongly condemning many of the provisions of the bill, including the Bright clauses which, he said, were likely to turn inefficient tenants into impoverished proprietors. The bill was read in the house of commons a second time, March 11, by 442 votes to 11. The committee stage lasted three and a half months, a fortnight longer than that of the Irish Church bill, and the details were assailed and criticised from all sides. There was a fear that the principle involved in it would cross St. George's Channel, and Roundell Palmer, with his "legal mind, legal point of view, legal aptitude and inaptitude," to quote Gladstone's adaptation of a phrase of Burke's,[1] was its most dangerous enemy, bringing his experience of English law to bear on the very different problem of Irish law. In the house of lords the bill was read a second time without a division. Some amendments were made in committee, but for the most part they were not persisted in.

The Irish land act was a courageous effort in constructive legislation; but it was the result of a compromise, and it did not extinguish the evils with which it was designed to deal. It interfered with the landlord's right of disposing of his land on the absolute basis of free contract; but it gave the tenant neither fixity of tenure nor security against excessive rents; nor did it take into account the fact, of which English statesmen were at the time quite unconscious, that agriculture in the United Kingdom was a declining industry, and that even existing rents might be beyond the capacity of the farmers to pay. The act made it inevitable that the agrarian revolution in Ireland should be carried farther in the direction of giving the tenants an absolute estate in the soil and converting the landlord into

[1] Gladstone to Lord Russell in Morley, *Gladstone*, ii., 295.

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a rent-charger under terms fixed by the state. Thus within eleven years Gladstone found himself compelled to promise another Irish land bill in order to carry out the very principles of fixity of tenure and judicial rents which he had resolutely excluded from the act of 1870. Nor did the act allay Irish agitation. If Gladstone thought he had "pacified" Ireland by reforms for which the more violent anti-English factions cared nothing, he was speedily to discover that he was mistaken. "As a result of all his labours," says a liberal historian, "Ireland was more disturbed than she had been since 1852."[1] Even while the bill was in progress, in the spring of 1870 agrarian outrages occurred in county Mayo. The government did not for the moment have recourse to the old remedy of a suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, but brought in and carried the peace preservation act on April 4, which prohibited the use of firearms in any district proclaimed by the lord-lieutenant; conferred on the police powers of searching dwelling-houses for arms or evidence which might throw light on the authorship of threatening letters, and of arresting on suspicion persons found wandering at night; and increased the summary jurisdiction of the magistrates. The executive was also entrusted with the power of suppressing newspapers guilty of intimidation. Other clauses provided for the imposition of compensation on a district in which an agrarian murder had been committed, and for the change of venue of a trial where the interests of justice appeared to demand it.

In spite of these increased powers of repression, and in spite of remedial legislation, the government thought it necessary to ask parliament, in the following February, for a secret committee to inquire into the reign of terror existing in Westmeath. The Ribbon society, the secret confederacy whose law prevailed over the law of the land, resembled the Fenian Brotherhood in its American origin, but its objects and methods were far more agrarian. The Westmeath act, which was passed in the course of the summer of 1871 and was to continue in force for two years, empowered the lord-lieutenant to proclaim certain districts and by warrant to commit without trial suspected persons, who might even be arrested in other parts of Ireland if they

[1] Walpole, *History of Twenty-five Years*, ii., 391.

had been within a proclaimed district. The statute produced an immediate effect, most of the leaders of the society fleeing to America; but the outrages continued, and Disraeli was able amid applause to taunt Gladstone in the house of commons for his recourse to exceptional and repressive laws, after parliament, at his bidding, had legalised confiscation, consecrated sacrilege, and condoned high treason.[1]

[1] *Parl. Debates*, cciv., 1007

CHAPTER XII.

THE FIRST GLADSTONE MINISTRY: ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS AND FOREIGN POLICY.

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THROUGHOUT the session of 1870 the prime minister had little time or inclination for anything besides the Irish land bill. It was one of Gladstone's characteristics, one of the sources alike of his strength and his weakness, to regard all other subjects as unimportant compared to that in which he happened at any moment to be specially interested. Moreover he was not eager about education, his interest in it being that of a churchman who set chief store by religious instruction combined with freedom of conscience. In fact, had it not been for the vice-president of the privy council, who threw himself heart and soul into the cause, it is certain that no elementary education act would have been passed this session. A quaker by birth and training, though endowed with some unquakerlike characteristics, Forster had qualities which both fitted and unfitted him for his task. He was hard-working, patriotic, and public-spirited; a sound speaker with a plain style, yet capable of outbursts of rough eloquence. But he was on the other hand limited in vision, wanting in tact and suavity, opinionated, and self-righteous. He had, however, an unanswerable case for reform. The report of the Newcastle commission in 1861 disclosed a deplorable state of things in regard to popular education; and little had been since done to remedy the evil. Education in England was inferior to that given in the United States, in Switzerland, and in Prussia. The extension of the franchise in 1867 recalled Lowe's celebrated phrase about educating our masters; nor were the working-men in their trades unions indifferent towards the cause.

In 1869 out of about 4,300,000 children within the school age, 2,000,000 ought to have been at school and were not. About

1,300,000 were being educated in schools, chiefly belonging to the Church of England, though subject to governmental inspection, which were maintained by voluntary subscriptions with the aid of the fees from parents and the government grants. The remaining million children went to schools which received no grant and were uninspected and often inefficient. The main burden of education fell on the shoulders of the 200,000 persons whose voluntary subscriptions supported the denominational schools. Divers views were held in regard to the remedy to be applied. In Birmingham there was a strong education league, with Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, an active local administrator, destined to play a great part in national affairs, acting as chairman of its executive committee. The Birmingham league, whose spokesmen in the house of commons were Miall and George Dixon, demanded that education should be "secular, compulsory and free". Fawcett, the political economist, on the other hand, recognised that the first thing was to get the children into the schools, and regarded universal compulsion as the vital question; but he was opposed to free education and despised what he regarded as mere religious squabbles. Forster's own aim, as disclosed in the memorandum submitted by him to the cabinet, which formed the basis of the bill,[1] was in the first instance to cover the country with good schools, in the next to get the parents to send their children to school. The cabinet adopted Forster's plan, which was intended not to supersede any efficient schools already existing, but to complete the voluntary system by "filling up gaps".

On February 17, 1870, he unfolded his scheme before the house of commons. In the first instance he proposed to divide the country into districts with a view to ascertaining to what extent the existing elementary education provided failed to meet the requirements of the localities. The "voluntary men" were to have one year of grace to make good the deficiencies; but if they failed in any locality, a school board was to be elected. These boards, which were to be chosen in boroughs by the town council and in country districts by the vestry, might, according to Forster's original proposal, either build new schools or assist those already in existence, but if they adopted the second course all schools must be treated on equal terms. Ex-

[1] Wemyss Reid, *Life of Forster*, i., 464.

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penses were to be met partly by the parents' fees, partly by parliamentary grant, and partly out of the rates. In regard to compulsory attendance the first proposal was not to make it of universal application. School boards were indeed to be empowered to compel the parents to send their children between the ages of five and twelve to school, but it was proposed that the decision as to whether the power was to be exercised or not should rest within the discretion of the board.

It was, however, on the religious, or rather on the ecclesiastical, question that the battle turned. Forster's first plan was to entrust each school board with absolute discretion in the matter of religious instruction. The board might adopt any form that seemed good to it, subject to a "conscience clause," which applied to every school receiving a government grant; or it might decide to give no religious instruction whatever. The Birmingham education league, with its demand for secular education, could not tolerate any proposal that denominational teaching should be given in schools supported by the rates, and Dixon, who was one of the members for Birmingham, moved an amendment, on the second reading, declaring that no measure of education would afford a satisfactory or permanent settlement which left the question of religious instruction to the discretion of the local authorities. The second reading was carried without a division on March 18, but only on Gladstone's undertaking to reconsider this point.

It was not until June 16 that the debate on the bill was resumed, and in the interval Forster and the cabinet had realised that in order to avoid shipwreck, something must be done to satisfy their supporters on the religious question. A way of escape was provided by Forster's acceptance in committee of an amendment moved by William Cowper-Temple which forbade the use of any catechism or dogmatic formulary in schools receiving support from the rates. Voluntary schools, which were to receive no such assistance, might as before give their own form of religious instruction, but in the board schools the teachers were to confine themselves to reading and expounding the Bible, avoiding all catechisms and creeds. An amendment, however, introduced by Gladstone, renewed the opposition of the Birmingham league. Forster, in his memorandum, had proposed to limit the aid from the rates to purely

secular purposes; but the prime minister, supported by ministerialists and the opposition, carried against sixty radical votes a proposal that the old parliamentary grant to denominational schools should be doubled. Other changes were made while the measure was passing through parliament. The conscience clause limited the religious teaching to certain fixed hours, and thus enabled parents to withdraw their children the more easily. The age to which compulsory attendance could be required was raised to thirteen. School boards were to be elected by ratepayers, who might use their votes cumulatively, instead of by the vestries or town councils. London was to be represented by a single school board. The bill, which was read a third time by the house of commons on July 22, suffered no important change in the house of lords and received the royal assent on August 9.

From a party point of view the government had displayed bad strategy over the education bill. The support which they had received in the house of commons from the conservative opposition greatly incensed the nonconformists. The act, indeed, did not entirely satisfy any single party or sect, but at least it established the great principle that instruction should be provided for all children. The principle that education should be national and unsectarian extended its influence to the universities. In the session of 1870 the house of commons passed a bill relieving members of Oxford and Cambridge from religious tests, but the lords threw it out. Gladstone, who had, like a pious son of Oxford, hitherto resisted all proposals to remove the restrictions which confined the right to sit in convocation or hold a college fellowship to churchmen, yielded to his majority in the following session and consented to make the rejected bill a government measure. Some opposition was again encountered in the house of lords, but the government stood firm and the university tests act of 1871 was placed on the statute book. All students alike were to be admitted to degrees or to lay university or college offices without being required to subscribe to any religious formulary of faith. Clerical fellowships or offices were still continued, and the Church of England obtained formal recognition in the act as the official religion of the university and colleges.

Hitherto the conservatives had, generally speaking, enjoyed

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the reputation of being the more economical of the two parties, though Gladstone as chancellor of the exchequer in the Palmerston and Russell administrations, had been able to do something towards checking expenditure. But now as head of a liberal government, he set to work with a freer hand to carry out his promises of retrenchment; and considerable reductions were effected in "the great spending departments". The navy estimates of 1870 reached the lowest figure attained since 1858, and in the army expenditure retrenchment was made possible by the reduction of the troops serving in the colonies from 49,000 in 1868 to 20,941 in 1870. The principle that in time of peace the colonial governments should provide for their own military defence had already received general assent. These reductions afforded Lowe a surplus of £4,000,000 and enabled him in his 1870 budget to reduce the income tax to fourpence, the lowest point it had as yet reached, to diminish the tax on sugar, and to abolish the newspaper stamp duty. Halfpenny post cards were also introduced and a halfpenny rate of postage for newspapers.

Another far-reaching administrative change effected by the government this year opened the civil services to public competition. Since 1855 all candidates had been subjected to a qualifying examination, and in 1860 a system of limited competition among nominated candidates had been introduced. In the first year of the administration, Lowe, who had the reform much at heart, urged the prime minister, himself enthusiastic in the cause, to press the question forward in the cabinet. Resistance from Clarendon at the foreign office and Bright at the board of trade was evaded by the adoption of an ingenious suggestion of Gladstone's, that all departments in the civil service should be open to competition where the political head gave his consent. In the end, only Lord Clarendon proved obdurate, and every department, save the foreign office, was thrown open.

Among the administrative reforms effected by Gladstone's first government, the re-organisation of the military system, carried out by Cardwell, holds the first place. It is no exaggeration to say that the foundation of the modernised British army, the army which was in being when the next century opened with England engaged in a great war, was the work,

for good or evil, of this secretary for war. In the space of two years Cardwell introduced short service, and with it a permanent reserve, abolished the purchase of commissions, divided the country into territorial military districts, and established the system of linked battalions. The first reform carried out was the introduction of the short service system. The victories of Prussia showed that the most formidable army in Europe consisted mainly of civilian soldiers who had been trained for two or three years in the ranks. Cardwell held that an army in time of peace should be the nucleus of a reserve force which might be called to active service in case of emergency; the standing force with the colours being largely regarded as a school for training soldiers. His first measure, the army enlistment act of 1870, established this principle. Under this act a recruit was not to enlist for more than twelve years. He might engage to serve the whole time with the colours, or part of the time with the colours and part in the army reserve. At the same time enlistment for a shorter term was to be permitted, three years being fixed as the minimum limit.

Cardwell was further assisted by the startling events of the Franco-German war of 1870-71, which stimulated an agitation in favour of military reform. When the army estimates for 1871 were moved, it was found that the government were demanding an increase of nearly £3,000,000 upon the amount asked for in the preceding year. But with their increase in the estimates the government brought in an army regulation bill, which included provisions for the abolition of the purchase of commissions and the transfer to the crown of the jurisdiction exercised by the lord-lieutenants of counties over the militia, the yeomanry, and the volunteers. To the abolition of the practice of purchasing military rank there was determined resistance, and the officers of the army, aided by many friends in parliament and in London society, fought energetically against the innovation. Under the act of George III., which abolished the sale of offices in other departments, the crown had retained the discretion of continuing the practice in the army. The sale had been regulated by royal warrant; but commissions were still bought and sold for sums largely in excess of the regulation prices, and vested interests on a large scale had grown up. Under the bill it was proposed that pur-

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chase should cease; but all vested interests were to be respected, and officers withdrawing from the army were to have even their over-regulation prices repaid to them. A sum of £7,000,000 was to be devoted to this purpose. The obstruction in the house of commons was long and deliberate. Hints were freely thrown out in debate that the influence of the Horse Guards was opposed to reform, and it was deemed necessary for Cardwell to declare in parliament that it was "of course necessary for the commander-in-chief to be in harmony with the government of the day"; while Gladstone told the house, with the approval of the queen, that the military plans and measures of the government must always have the energetic co-operation of the chiefs of the army.

The bill at last reached the house of lords, where hardly a soldier spoke in its favour. Strathnairn, the conqueror of Jhánsi and Tántia Topí, and Lucan, whose name is for ever associated with the charge of the light brigade at Balaclava, inveighed bitterly against the abolition of purchase. Yet the lords would not be responsible for the direct rejection of the proposal. Recourse was therefore had to a dilatory amendment, moved by the Duke of Richmond, then the leader of the conservative peers, to the effect that the house should not pass the second reading until a complete scheme of army reform was laid before it. The motion was carried by 155 votes to 130 on July 17. The cabinet met the next day, and resolved to advise the queen to issue a new warrant abolishing purchase, thus cancelling the old warrant which had regulated the practice. The queen, who was at Osborne, made no difficulty about signing the warrant;[1] but she demanded from Lord Halifax, the minister in attendance, that so strong an exercise of her prerogative, in apparent opposition to the lords, should be supported by a formal expression of the advice of the cabinet. A minute of the cabinet was at once prepared, and on the 20th the prime minister announced the abolition of purchase after November 1 by royal warrant. Much indignation was expressed at this resort to the prerogative of the crown, Disraeli going so far as to denounce it as "a shameful and avowed conspiracy of the cabinet against the privileges of

[1] Morley, *Gladstone*, ii., 363.

the upper house". But Sir Roundell Palmer held that the procedure by warrant "was within the undoubted power of the crown".[1] Gladstone, however, by the manner in which he made use of the royal prerogative, after his rebuff from the lords, gave a fair opening for unfavourable criticism. Nothing was now left to the peers but to pass the bill in order that officers should receive their compensation.

By the beginning of 1871 the tide of the government's popularity had begun to ebb. The session was marked by several legislative failures. A bill providing for vote by ballot, abolishing nominations, and dealing with corrupt practices in parliamentary elections, had been introduced by Lord Hartington in 1870, but eventually withdrawn. The bill, somewhat enlarged, and reintroduced the next session under the guidance of Forster, passed the house of commons after encountering considerable obstruction. It reached the house of lords in an unfortunate hour, within a few days of the abolition of army purchase by royal warrant; and the peers revenged the slight put on them by rejecting the second reading. A licensing bill, introduced in April, was withdrawn in May, before the determined opposition of the publicans and brewers; and a bill for the reform of local government and taxation shared the same fate. Nor were ministers more successful in their financial proposals. In order to meet the deficit for the coming year, reckoned at over £2,000,000, the chancellor of the exchequer introduced into his budget a tax on matches. It was one of Lowe's most successful achievements in the production of unnecessary friction. The proposed tax excited general indignation, mingled with ridicule. The match manufacturers of the east end of London set on foot a strong agitation, and some hundreds of poor women employed at a large factory marched in procession to Westminster. An increase in the succession duties encountered opposition from the wealthy classes on the ground that it was an assault upon property. In the end both taxes were dropped and a simple addition of twopence in the pound to the income tax was inserted in their place.

The government, indeed, passed the bill for the abolition of university tests, and repealed the ecclesiastical titles act,

[1] Selborne, *Memorials*, i., 193.

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which had been placed on the statute book in 1851 to prevent the assumption of territorial titles by Roman catholic bishops in England. But of these two measures the first was not likely to rouse enthusiasm, and the second tended to impair the popularity of the government; while another of the session's enactments, the trades unions act, by which the legality of the unions was formally recognised and their rights and limitations defined, in accordance with the recommendations of the report of the royal commission on the subject of 1864, pleased neither employers nor workmen. One popular piece of legislation was carried, but it was by an unofficial liberal. Sir John Lubbock (afterwards Lord Avebury) met with general support for his bill providing that four days in each year should be set aside as bank holidays.

Two appointments made in the autumn of 1871, which savoured of evasion of the law, tended to diminish the credit of the government. An act of this session had provided for the strengthening of the judicial committee of the privy council by the appointment of four paid members, of whom two were to be judges of the high court. There was considerable difficulty in filling up one of these posts, and after some time the appointment was conferred on the attorney-general, Sir Robert Collier, who was raised to the bench in order to fulfil the letter of the law. There was no question of Sir Robert Collier's fitness for the post; but an appointment which had all the appearances of a political job naturally excited grave indignation. Indeed the government only escaped censure by two votes in the house of lords, and by twenty-seven in the commons. The appointment to the rectory of Ewelme exposed Gladstone to a similar charge of transgressing the spirit of the law. The right to present belonged to the crown, but the presentation was restricted to members of convocation of the university of Oxford. Mr. Harvey, to whom Gladstone offered the living, had every qualification save one. He had been educated at Cambridge, and his formal incorporation in the convocation of Oxford, in order to satisfy the requirement of the statute, excited angry comment.

In April, 1872, so pronounced were the signs of ministerial decay that Disraeli made public reference to them. Lancashire had witnessed Gladstone's triumphant campaign before the

general election of 1868. It was at Manchester on April 3 that Disraeli describing the state of the government compared the occupants of the treasury bench to "a range of exhausted volcanoes". Ministers did not recover lost ground by their legislation. The ballot bill and the licensing bill, the two principal measures placed on the statute book, tended rather to increase the disfavour with which they were regarded. To many liberals the principle of secret voting was distasteful; and the licensing act, by its very moderation, failed to arouse enthusiasm among the more ardent advocates of temperance, while it excited the anger of the brewers and licensed victuallers. Its most noticeable provision, the closing of the public houses at twelve o'clock in London and eleven in the country, was regarded as an unwarrantable interference with private action, and the charge of "robbing the poor man of his beer" gained some point when it was seen that the clubs of the wealthier classes and the hotels were exempted from the operation of the new law.

Disraeli once more in the course of the session seized his opportunity, and at a great meeting held at the Crystal Palace in June gave voice to the general feeling that the honour of the country was suffering from the ministerial conduct of foreign policy, Russia's success at the treaty of Paris, and the *Alabama* affair[1] affording him excellent material. But the leader of the opposition did not confine himself to retrospective criticism. He now came forward as the champion of the imperial idea and the closer union of the empire, and developed in more definite terms the hints he had given during the Austro-Prussian war in 1866.[2] "Self-government in distant colonies," said Disraeli, "when it was conceded, ought to have been conceded as part of a great policy of imperial consolidation. It ought to have been accompanied by an imperial tariff, by securities for the people of England for the enjoyment of the unappropriated lands which belonged to the sovereign, as their trustee, and by a military code which should have precisely defined the means and the responsibilities by which the colonies should have been defended, and by which if necessary this country should call for aid from the colonies themselves. It ought further to have

[1] See *infra*, pp. 264-67. [2] See *supra*, p. 210.

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been accompanied by the institution of some representative council in the metropolis which would have brought the colonies into constant and continuous relations with the home government." The three great objects of the conservative party, he continued, were "the maintenance of our institutions, the preservation of our empire, and the improvement of the condition of the people". These words may almost be regarded as the beginning of that conservative revival, based largely on national self-consciousness and the conception of empire, the full fruition of which Disraeli did not live to see.

When Gladstone in the winter of 1867 opened his campaign in favour of an Irish policy on Irish lines, he proclaimed that the promotion of higher education should be dealt with in its turn. He attempted to redeem this pledge by introducing an Irish university bill as the principal measure of the session of 1873. But to devise a measure of Irish university reform, which should by its concessions satisfy the Roman catholics without alienating protestant nonconformists, was a difficult problem indeed. It is true that Trinity College had opened its doors to catholic students in 1794. Since the disestablishment of the Irish Church the college had even been willing to admit catholics to fellowships and endowments, only reserving a religious test for theological chairs. These concessions did not satisfy the ecclesiastics of a country where catholics formed three-quarters of the population. The Roman hierarchy in Ireland knew what it wanted, though policy dictated ambiguity of expression. On the other hand the supporters of the government were openly divided, for, as Lord Halifax told Gladstone, "Liberal majorities when large are apt to run riot". Nonconformists from prejudice were opposed to any form of denominational endowment; academic liberals disliked it on principle.

On February 14, 1873, a week after the opening of the session, Gladstone introduced his bill, the guiding principle of the measure being that catholics and protestants should share side by side in mixed, or united, education. He proposed to detach the University of Dublin from Trinity College, and to re-establish it as a teaching as well as an examining body. To the new university were to be affiliated Trinity College, Dublin, the Royal Catholic University, the "godless" Queen's

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Colleges at Belfast and Cork, and other similar institutions. It needed all the exuberance of hopefulness to conceive that in Ireland catholics and protestants would amicably participate in a university where for teachers and students alike there should be a complete absence of religious tests. Religious profession, indeed, was to be no bar to honours and emolument; but the "gagging clauses" circumscribed the teaching. Within the university there were to be no chairs of theology, of modern history, or of moral or mental philosophy, and a professor or teacher was to be liable to suspension or deposition if in speaking or writing he should be held to have wilfully given offence to the religious convictions of any member of the university. The debate on the second reading of the bill, which opened on March 3, extended over four sittings, and the prospects of the government darkened day by day. The rank and file of the liberal party grew lukewarm over a measure which would obtain neither acquiescence in Ireland nor bring about contentment; fear for their seats detached several liberal Irish members from the ministerial side; and a small knot of radicals, devoted to intellectual freedom, were determined to resist the "gagging clauses" at all costs. Nor did catholics or protestants attach any value to these securities for conscience, while in Ireland the general assembly of the presbyterians condemned the whole scheme. Yet to the last moment the issue was uncertain. The opposition of the Irish members in the end proved fatal to the measure; when the division was taken in the small hours of the morning of March 12, the government was found to be in a minority of three.

Gladstone tendered his resignation the next day, and the queen sent for Disraeli. But Disraeli was not yet willing to take office. He could not hope to carry on a government in the existing state of the house of commons; nor did he choose to become minister on condition of being permitted to dissolve. In the evening of the 14th Gladstone was informed that his rival had unconditionally declined to undertake the formation of a government, and on the 16th he resumed office. Disraeli had gained the day. He had dealt the administration a fatal blow. The defeated government indeed returned to office, but only to become more discredited and more unpopular. Defeat had not healed the breaches in the liberal ranks, and

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the last months of the administration were inglorious. One great reform was carried out by the lord chancellor, Lord Selborne, before the government fell to rise no more. Under the supreme court of judicature act, 1873, the superior courts of laws, those of the queen's bench, exchequer, common pleas, chancery, probate and divorce, admiralty, and bankruptcy, were united in one supreme court, consisting of two branches, a high court of justice comprising the tribunals of first instance, and a court of appeal. Some of the old titles survived in the divisions of the high court, retained for the sake of convenience; but every court was given the power of administering equity, and the judges of one division were empowered to sit in any other.

The budget showing a surplus of £4,750,000 came to throw a transient gleam of sunshine over the party's fortunes. So large indeed was the increase in the revenue that Lowe not only threw upon the taxation of the year half of the damages awarded at Geneva,[1] but was able to lower the tax on sugar and reduce the income tax from fourpence to threepence. But the chancellor of the exchequer became involved in an administrative scandal which still further impaired the credit of the administration at a time when it had no strength to spare. It was discovered that a sum of £800,000, partly receipts from the post office and partly deposits in the post office savings bank, which should have been despatched to the treasury, had been applied without the authority of parliament to the extension of the telegraphs. Three departments were involved and the rules of ministerial responsibility demanded the sacrifice of Monsell, the postmaster general, who knew nothing of the transaction, though it directly concerned his own department, of Lowe, the chancellor of the exchequer, who knew of it but took no action, and of Ayrton, the commissioner of works, who disclaimed responsibility for the estimates of his own office. Monsell retired into private life with a peerage, and Ayrton was appointed judge advocate-general. The remaining offender Lowe was treated with the greatest tenderness, Bruce being raised to the peerage as Lord Aberdare in order to make room for him at the home office, Gladstone himself taking the chancellorship

[1] See *infra*, p. 267.

of the exchequer. One other important change came a little later; Bright now rejoined the cabinet, from which he had retired in November, 1870, on the ground of ill-health, and took the chancellorship of the duchy vacated by Childers.

With the autumn came the need for arranging the legislative business of the next session and the embarrassments of the government increased. Disraeli had accused the ministry of having "harassed every trade, worried every profession, and assailed or menaced every class, institution, and species of property in the country"; and though the charge was exuberantly worded, it represented a part of the truth. The government, by the quantity and vigour of its legislation had made many enemies and was disliked by powerful interests and classes, abandoned by some of its friends, and discredited by superfluous blunders. There was hardly an important measure which ministers dared propose for the approaching session's legislation. It was then that the prime minister turned to finance as a field in which the administration might renew its strength. So far back as the summer[1] Gladstone had been revolving ideas for the next year's budget, based upon the abolition of the income tax and sugar duties and an increase in the death duties and on spirits. The scheme more and more took possession of his thoughts as the year drew to its close and all else failed him. But a budget framed on these lines would require reductions in the army and navy estimates, and Cardwell and Goschen, the heads of the two "great spending departments," were much opposed to the suggestion. Already the prime minister had entertained thoughts of a dissolution, and this controversy with his two colleagues perhaps confirmed his determination to take the plunge, without further delay, at the beginning of 1874. The announcement of his decision was unexpected even by most of his colleagues in the ministry whom, with the exception of Goschen, Cardwell, and Granville, he did not take into his confidence until he had approached the queen. In fact he produced the greater portion of his election address at the meeting of the cabinet on January 23, at which his intention was declared.

[1] Morley, *Gladstone*, ii., 478. Mr. Morley points to this long pre-occupation of Gladstone's mind with the subject as evidence that the proposed remission of the income tax was not a mere electioneering manœuvre.

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On the following day the prime minister issued his address to the electors of Greenwich. Financial reform stood in the forefront of this manifesto. Gladstone proposed, if he were returned to power, to repeal the income tax, to aid and reform local taxation, and to give relief to the general public in articles of consumption. The repeal of the income tax obscured every other proposal, but in reality the battle was fought on the government's past record. "The country has made up its mind," Disraeli had written in the autumn, "to close the career of plundering and blundering." There was little need now for declarations of policy on the part of the opposition, nor did its chief pay much attention to the proposed reductions of taxation. In his address to the electors of Buckinghamshire on the 26th, Disraeli promised to propose or support measures calculated to improve the condition of the people. "But I do not think," he added, "that this great end is advanced by incessant and harassing legislation. The English people are governed by their customs as much as by their laws, and there is nothing they more dislike than unnecessary restraint and meddling interference in their affairs." The liberal party entered into battle divided and unprepared. The nonconformists, who still pressed for an alteration in the education act, were either open foes of the ministry or sulking in their tents; while organised labour had been alienated by the conspiracy clauses of Bruce's trades union act. On the conservative side were arrayed powerful classes and interests which had been assailed during five years of active legislation. The brewers and licensed victuallers, indeed, made no concealment of their rage and alarm. The abortive bill of 1871 had given them a foretaste of what they might expect from the liberals, and they proved the government's most formidable antagonists. "We have been borne down," wrote Gladstone to his brother, "in a torrent of gin and beer."

Parliament was dissolved on January 26, 1874, and by the middle of February the elections were over. Throughout the country the conservative reaction was general. Scotland and Wales still returned a liberal majority, but even in them there were losses. In the English boroughs there was a net liberal loss of thirty-two, seven seats being lost in London. In Ireland only twelve liberals were returned, while from the Irish elections

arose a nationalist group of fifty-eight members which stood apart from both the great parties under a separate parliamentary organisation. The conservative majority in England and Wales amounted to a hundred and five, in Great Britain to eighty-three. In the whole house the conservatives outnumbered the liberals nominally by fifty; but in reality the conservative majority was considerably larger. The liberal party would indeed have been stronger if the entire body of the fifty-eight home rule members, who were at first counted in its ranks, had been systematically absent from the house of commons.[1] The prime minister wished to stay in office until parliament met, but yielding somewhat reluctantly to the counsels of his colleagues he resigned on February 17. The ministry had made many mistakes and had rather rapidly quenched the wave of popular enthusiasm which bore it into office. But its legislative achievements were remarkable, and its administrative reforms bold and far-reaching. It had given a definite direction to the activity of its party, and roused it from the languid indifference which had long weighed upon it; and it had effected a reconciliation between the middle-class oligarchy, placed in power by the act of 1832, and the wider electorate enfranchised in 1867. In spite of its failures and miscalculations, Gladstone's first administration was the most fruitful, and on the whole the most successful, liberal ministry of the queen's reign.

Its conduct of foreign affairs, during a difficult period, had not increased its popularity. According to a dictum of Lord Granville, Palmerston had wasted the strength derived by England from the great war by his brag and bluster: since then the liberal party by common consent had adopted a policy of general non-intervention in foreign affairs. But before the year was out the principle was subjected to no ordinary strain. Ever since the battle of Sadowa in July, 1866, it was obvious, or should have been, that a latent antagonism was smouldering between France and Prussia, ready to be fanned into flame by the slightest incident. Public opinion in France was badly served both by its diplomacy and its press; and throughout the country it was confidently believed that the French army, with its new breech-loading rifles and its *mitrailleuses*, could

[1] Mr. Gladstone on "Electoral Facts" in the *Nineteenth Century*, November, 1878.

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find no match in Europe, and was in the highest state of warlike efficiency, a belief which the emperor's advisers encouraged, though it is difficult to suppose they really shared it.[1] A suggestion with a view to partial simultaneous disarmament which came from Lord Clarendon early in 1870, with the warm concurrence of Gladstone, was not sympathetically received by Count Bismarck, who perceived its futility in the circumstances of the moment. The German statesmen were thoroughly in touch with the realities of the situation; they understood Napoleon III.'s position and fully anticipated that France would flounder blindly into war upon the first sting of real or imagined provocation. The occasion for the long-prepared rupture came in July, 1870, and so gross was the delusion on one side, and so keen and relentless the diplomacy on the other, that very little opportunity was offered for the intervention of a benevolent third party.

The Emperor Napoleon played into Bismarck's hands by elaborately putting France in the wrong. In September, 1868, a revolution had occurred in Spain; Queen Isabella had fled from the country, and a provisional government had been set up in February, 1869, with Marshal Serrano as "protector" and General Prim as prime minister. The feeling of the nation was, however, monarchical and various unsuccessful attempts were made to induce members of the European reigning families to accept the vacant throne. In the spring of 1870 the Spanish crown was offered to Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, a representative of the South German and Roman catholic branch of the Hohenzollerns, exceedingly remote in relationship from the reigning house of Prussia. On June 23 his acceptance was communicated to the Madrid government. The proposal had at first excited no alarm in France or elsewhere. When Clarendon died on June 27 and was succeeded at the foreign office by Lord Granville, the new secretary of state was informed by the chief of his permanent staff at Downing Street, that this official "had never during his long experience known so great a lull in foreign affairs"; and that he was not aware of any important question requiring attention, except the recent murder of a party of English

[1] De la Gorce, *Hist. du Second Empire*, vi., 220, etc. See also Malmesbury, *Memoirs of an ex-Minister*, ii., 414.

tourists by Greek brigands.[1] This was said on the afternoon of July 5. That same evening the French emperor was framing a private message for Gladstone, sent through Baron Rothschild, to the effect that Prince Leopold's accession to the Spanish throne would be intolerable to France;[2] and on the following day the Duc de Gramont, the foreign minister, in the French chamber, made a bellicose speech declaring that France would not suffer the European equilibrium to be disturbed to her disadvantage, while M. Emile Ollivier, the premier, hinted that war might be necessary, though the government wished for peace "passionately but with honour".

The English cabinet made efforts to mediate. Granville put pressure upon the provisional government at Madrid to withdraw Prince Leopold's nomination, and instructed Lord Augustus Loftus, the British ambassador at Berlin, to appeal to "the wise and disinterested magnanimity of the king" to discourage the candidature, a step which Gramont chose to regard as an admission by the British foreign office of the justice of the French case.[3] This view was repudiated by Granville, who continued to use conciliatory language to both parties. But the tension was far too great for an intermediary to play any influential part. France began making military preparations on July 8. The Prussian ambassador the same day told Granville that the offer of the Spanish crown to King Leopold was not a matter which concerned the North German government, but that if France chose to make war on Germany that country was prepared to defend itself. On the 12th M. Benedetti, the French ambassador in Berlin, telegraphed to Paris that the Hohenzollern prince had withdrawn his candidature, and that this withdrawal was approved by the king. The British government hoped that this would be accepted by France as a settlement of the affair; and Lord Lyons, the British ambassador in Paris, "did not conceal" from M. de Gramont their "surprise and regret" that it was not so regarded. But public sentiment in France was so much inflamed that the French ministers were now afraid to propose any solu-

[1] Lord Granville's speech in the house of lords on July 11, 1870, in *Parl. Debates*. See also Fitzmaurice, *Granville*, ii., 32.

[2] Morley, *Gladstone*, ii., 325.

[3] Gramont, *La France et la Prusse*, iv., 86; and *Parl. Debates*, cciii., 82.

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tion which did not involve humiliation for the Germans; while Bismarck told Lord Augustus Loftus that unless Gramont's menacing language was disavowed the Prussian government would be "obliged to seek explanations from France". On the 13th both nations were further excited by reports of the famous "Ems incident". It was alleged that the king had been grossly insulted by Benedetti (a version to which Bismarck's skilfully dressed-up telegraphic account of the episode gave currency), and that his majesty had brusquely turned his back on the French ambassador. On the following day Gladstone, rising in a breathless and silent house of commons to answer a question from Disraeli, could say no more than that the communications between Germany and France were not yet at an end. But on that day the French government called out the reserves, and war was declared.

The British government, somewhat mortified by the failure of its attempts at intervention, preserved an attitude of correct neutrality throughout the campaign, which did not, however, prevent it from being rather angrily assailed in Germany as too favourable to France. "The English are more hated at this moment than the French," wrote the Crown Princess of Prussia to Queen Victoria on August 9. The ill-feeling was further stimulated by complaints from the German foreign office that English merchants had been permitted to supply coal, and even munitions of war, to France. But both Granville and the prime minister were well aware that nothing could really be done to save France from the consequences of her mistakes. Gladstone, though he could hardly be suspected of Prussian sympathies, had no doubt that the blame for the rupture rested chiefly on the desperate gamblers of the Tuileries and the fatuous misconceptions of the French cabinet. "It appeared," he wrote, "that, as the advisers of the emperor knew nothing of public rights and nothing of the sense of Europe, so they knew nothing about Austria and the mind of the German states, and less than nothing about not only the Prussian army but even their own."[1] Before the war English sentiment was, on the whole, rather in favour of Germany, which seemed to have been provoked and menaced by the French

[1] Gladstone, *Gleanings*, iv., 222.

emperor's unscrupulous and intriguing ambition. But the cataclysmic suddenness with which France was humbled to the dust brought about a revulsion of generous pity for an ancient rival, not unmixed with a certain jealousy of the new armed champion, who held so mighty a sword at her throat.

Bismarck, however, by one of his dexterous *coups*, rendered it impossible for English sympathy with France to take any more practical shape than that of raising a great voluntary fund to help the French wounded. He gave to the Berlin correspondent of the *Times*, and enabled that journal to publish on July 25, the draft treaty submitted to him by Napoleon III. in 1867,[1] with the clause providing that in certain eventualities France should be permitted to take possession of Belgium. On the 30th the English cabinet met and decided to obtain from the belligerents guarantees for the safety of the Flemish kingdom. Treaties, which on August 9 were signed by both France and Prussia, provided that in the event of the violation of Belgian neutrality by either of the two powers, Great Britain would co-operate with the other for the defence of that country, but without being liable to take part in the general operations of the war; and a like arrangement was made with regard to Luxemburg.

The eddies from the great continental struggle were not only felt in Belgium and in Italy, where the preoccupation of France enabled King Victor Emmanuel to move Italian troops into Rome and put an end to the temporal power of the pope, but they also swept into the sphere of England's eastern relations. The condition to which France was reduced encouraged Russia to throw off the galling restriction imposed on her after the Crimean war. By the treaty of Paris, Russia and Turkey were restrained from building or maintaining ships in the Black Sea. On October 31, 1870, a circular declaring that the tsar could "no longer consider himself bound to the terms of the treaty of Paris, 1856, in so far as these limit his rights of sovereignty in the Black Sea," was addressed by Prince Gortchakov to the powers. England protested vigorously against the assumption that Russia by her own act, without any consent from the signatory parties, could release herself from her treaty

[1] See *supra*, p. 211.

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obligations. Excitement for the moment ran high; immediate war was discussed in the newspapers, and consols fell heavily. The cabinet proposed a conference of the signatory powers as the best way of escape from the deadlock. By this conference, which met in London in December, it was agreed that the clause which secured the neutrality of the Black Sea should be abrogated, the sultan at the same time being allowed to open the Dardanelles and Bosphorus to the warships of friendly and allied states in the event of the rights secured to him under the treaty of Paris being threatened.

A most serious question in relation to foreign affairs inherited by the Gladstone ministry lay in the unsettled claims arising from the depredations committed during the American civil war, under the confederate flag, on the commercial marine of the northern states. Undoubtedly Lord Russell, at the foreign office, and the customs officials at Liverpool had been guilty of gross carelessness in permitting the *Alabama* to sail;[1] and writing to Gladstone in 1865 Russell had said that "paying twenty millions down would be far preferable to submitting the case to arbitration". The American government, on the other hand, had expressed at an early stage, through the minister in London, a willingness to submit the difficulties to any "fair and equitable form of conventional arbitrament or reference". But the sympathy extended by the more articulate portion of the English people to the southern cause had greatly embittered American feeling. In 1868 Lord Stanley had expressed a willingness to refer the *Alabama* claims either to a mixed commission, British and American, sitting in London, or to the head of some friendly state acting as arbitrator; but the negotiations were interrupted by the demand put forward by Seward, secretary of state in President Johnson's cabinet, that the British recognition of the southern states as belligerents should be taken into account in computing the damages. Again, in 1869, when Clarendon had actually signed, subject to certain modifications, the draft arbitration treaty, the American senate refused the ratification. Influential senators like Sumner not only repudiated arbitration, but put forward con-

[1] See *supra*, p. 184. Lord Houghton said that Russell's four days' indecision as to the *Alabama* cost the country a million for every day (Fitzmaurice, *Granville*, ii., 81).

structive claims for indirect damages which might have raised the amount alleged to be due to perhaps £400,000,000 sterling, or even more. An official despatch endorsed this contention, and it was claimed that England ought to pay not only compensation to individuals or corporations for the injuries committed by the *Alabama* and other cruisers which had sailed from British ports, but that the cost incurred by the United States government in chasing these vessels should also be included in the damages. It was even urged that Great Britain had rendered itself responsible, by an imperfect discharge of the duties of neutrality, for the prolongation of the war, and could justly be charged with a general liability in respect of the expense incurred in suppressing the rebellion.

Meanwhile the British government had taken steps to prevent a second *Alabama* scandal, and in 1870 the foreign enlistment act made it an offence to build a ship in circumstances which gave reasonable cause for belief that it would be used against a friendly state engaged in war. Most Englishmen still held that efforts had honestly been made by the government at the time of the civil war to preserve neutrality in the face of great difficulties, and that technically there had been no breach in the case of the *Alabama*. But the opinion continued to gain ground that Russell had shown a regrettable lack of promptitude, as he himself publicly acknowledged, in not ordering the arrest of the cruiser before she left the Mersey. Granville resumed the negotiations with Washington; and on February 1, 1871, Gladstone was able to inform the queen that her majesty's ministers had agreed with President Grant's cabinet to appoint a joint commission to which all questions at issue between the two countries should be referred. Sir Stafford Northcote, with Disraeli's approval, accepted membership, and the British commissioners, under the presidency of Lord de Grey, afterwards Marquis of Ripon, went to America. On May 8 the treaty of Washington was signed, and on the 19th it was ratified by the senate. The first part of the treaty dealt with the case of the privateers, and opened with the statement that the British commissioners were authorised to express in a friendly spirit the regret felt by her majesty's government for the escape, under whatever circumstances, of the *Alabama* and other vessels from British ports, and for the

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damage which they had caused. All the demands growing out of acts done by these vessels and generically known as the "*Alabama* claims" were to be referred to a tribunal composed of five arbitrators, appointed respectively by the queen, the President of the United States, the King of Italy, the President of the Swiss republic, and the Emperor of Brazil. The arbitrators were to meet at Geneva, and both the contracting parties bound themselves to abide by the decision of the majority.

At Geneva accordingly the international commissioners assembled on December 15, 1871, and elected as their president Count Sclopis, the Italian representative. It was settled that the arbitrators should meet to hear the arguments of counsel in June, 1872. The counter-cases of the two governments were to be lodged by the middle of April. Early in the January of 1872, it was known in England that the case of the United States revived the "indirect, constructive, consequential, and national claims" originally put forward by Sumner, though, as the British government contended, entirely waived under the treaty. A storm of indignation arose in this country. Disraeli, in the house of commons, compared the indirect claims to tribute exacted from a conquered people. The prime minister yielded to no one in the vehemence of his language. He insisted that the indirect claims were excluded from the arbitration by the terms of the treaty, "whether tried by grammar, by reason, by policy, or by any other standard". The month of June came; the arbitrators were to hear the arguments of counsel on both sides on the 15th, and no solution had been arranged. The treaty seemed doomed. At this crisis Charles F. Adams, the American representative, came forward and cut the knot by privately approaching his colleagues on the tribunal with the suggestion that the court should declare spontaneously, without protest or request from either side, that the principles of international law excluded the indirect claims from their consideration. This course was adopted and on the 19th the British ministers, who had been much perturbed and divided by the affair, and greatly alarmed by the prospect of having to declare the attempt at arbitration a failure,[1] announced in parliament that the arbitrators had summarily ruled out the indirect claims.

[1] Reid, *Life of W. E. Forster*, ii., 81; Fitzmaurice, *Granville*, ii., 95 *seq.*

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With this difficulty removed, the court set to work, and in the middle of September delivered its award. The arbitrators were unanimous in finding that Great Britain was liable for the depredations committed by the *Alabama*. In the case of another ship, the *Florida*, all save the British representative, Lord Chief Justice Cockburn, supported the American contention. By a majority of three to two it was held that the *Shenandoah* ought to have been detained at Melbourne where she had recruited and coaled. With regard to six other vessels, the tribunal disallowed the American claims, and in the cases of five more of the southern privateers no legal testimony was produced. The damages awarded, Cockburn again dissenting, in satisfaction and final settlement of all claims, including interest, were £3,250,000 sterling as against the American claim of £9,500,000. It is probable that except in the case of the *Alabama* the tribunal came to a wrong decision; and the American government encountered no little difficulty in distributing the damages awarded among the persons who had any real right to compensation. The foreign arbitrators were perhaps a little inclined to favour the American case by way of a set-off to the abandonment of the indirect claims. As the first occasion on which an international dispute was referred to the decision of a regular tribunal of lawyers and statesmen, on the analogy of a private lawsuit in a court of justice, the Geneva award created a valuable precedent. But at the time public opinion in England held that the country had suffered unfair treatment and sustained some loss of prestige, and undoubtedly the popularity of the Gladstone administration was impaired by the whole transaction.

Several important questions affecting the colonies arose while this cabinet was in office. In 1870 the territory held by the Hudson Bay Company under a charter from Charles II., and known as Rupert's Land, was incorporated in the Dominion of Canada under the title of the Province of Manitoba. The terms of the transfer, arranged on behalf of the Dominion by Granville as colonial secretary, bore somewhat hardly on the French Canadians and half-breeds scattered over a country about as large as England. A small rebellion broke out, under the leadership of Louis Riel, who styled himself president of the republic of the west, and an attack was made

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on the company's stores at Fort Garry on the Red River, a hundred miles beyond the Lake of the Woods. The rising was however put down without fighting or loss of life at a cost of £100,000 by a mixed force of Canadian and imperial troops, under the command of Colonel Garnet Wolseley, who led the expedition through 300 miles of lakes and swamps with the skill and energy which were to gain him success in greater campaigns.

In South Africa the dominions of the crown were extended by the annexation in 1871 of Griqualand West, the district lying in the angle formed by the junction of the rivers Orange and Vaal. Ever since 1867, when diamonds were first discovered within its borders, the country, though claimed by the Orange Free State, had been a kind of no-man's land into which a great influx of diggers kept pouring. The Orange Free State government proved unable to check the serious disorders which arose, and finally in spite of its protests but in compliance with the request of the native chief, Sir Henry Barkly, the governor of Cape Colony, took possession in the name of the queen. Lord Kimberley, Granville's successor at the colonial office, after whom the principal town of the new territory was named, also gave his sanction in 1872 to the establishment of a full system of constitutional government in Cape Colony, which henceforward possessed an executive responsible to the legislature.

On the west coast of Africa a treaty with Holland was concluded in 1871, under which the Dutch surrendered the scattered forts and factories held by them on the Gold Coast in exchange for the resignation by Great Britain of its claims in Sumatra. A couple of years later Disraeli made some play with the injury which, as he alleged, the Dutch treaty dealt to British trade interests in the Straits of Malacca; but more serious consequences flowed from the change of rulers on the Gold Coast. The Ashantis, a powerful and warlike tribe of the interior, who had hitherto supplied themselves with untaxed European produce through the Dutch possessions on the coast, resented the English system of raising a revenue from customs. A dispute about a stipend which the Dutch had allowed to King Koffi Calcalli of Ashanti was another cause of irritation; and in the summer of 1873 a host of savages overran the

country of the Fantis, included by the treaty in the British protectorate, and even advanced to the neighbourhood of Cape Coast Castle. An attack on Elmina, a former Dutch post, was beaten off by seamen and marines; but so threatening was the invasion and its effect on the surrounding tribes that the home government resolved to deal the Ashanti power a crushing blow, and despatched Sir Garnet Wolseley, in the autumn, to the scene of the disorders. Something was done in the direction of driving back the invaders and drilling the native levies; but in the absence of English troops, who did not arrive until December, the advance on Kumasi, the chief town of the Ashantis, was delayed, and the announcement of its capture and the end of the campaign was made by the next ministry. CHAP. XII.

On the north-west frontier of India the "masterly inactivity" which characterised the policy of Sir John Lawrence, who had become viceroy on the death of Lord Elgin in 1863, in regard to the dynastic and internal affairs of Afghanistan was maintained after his return to England in 1868, under Lord Mayo and Lord Northbrook his successors in the vice-royalty. The position of Sher Ali, the amír *de facto*, was recognised and his friendship cultivated, while the strong love of independence which rendered the Afghans adverse to the presence of an English resident at Kábul was respected. At the same time Mayo made it clear to the amír that in return for this attitude of friendly non-interference the Indian government expected that the influence of any other power should be excluded from the affairs of his country; and Northbrook in 1873 confirmed the policy of his predecessors. The advance of Russia in Central Asia was a cause of uneasiness to the amír, and direct negotiations were opened by Clarendon with the representatives of the tsar, which resulted in an understanding that Afghanistan should be excluded from the sphere of Russian Asiatic operations. In the autumn of 1872, however, the announcement that Russia intended to exact retribution from the khan of Khiva renewed the fears of the amír and aroused alarm and suspicion in England. Nor did the Russian assurances that no annexation or prolonged occupation of Khiva was contemplated carry conviction to the mind of Granville, who had invited the tsar's government to explain its intentions. But it was im-

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possible to go behind the official explanation; nor could the foreign secretary protest with decency against an expedition on Russia's own frontiers, the alleged object of which was to punish acts of brigandage, to recover fifty Russian prisoners, and to teach the khan that his conduct could not be continued with impunity. Granville, therefore, in pursuance of Clarendon's policy, concentrated his efforts on effecting an agreement with Prince Gortchakov which should define the political boundaries of Afghanistan; and before the victorious termination of the march, which ended in the absorption of Khiva, the English delimitation had been accepted, and the amír, as some compensation for the refusal of a defensive alliance, was secured in the possession of the province of Badakshan and the district of Wakhan to which Russia had denied his right.

Considerable inconvenience, now and again, at times of political crisis resulted from the queen's absence at Balmoral; in 1871 a wave of hostile criticism began to break against the throne. "A deep and universal feeling of discontent at the queen's seclusion found voice in the journals of the country."[1] Much sympathy had been felt for the sovereign in her widowhood; but a ten years' seclusion from social activity and public duty seemed an excessive indulgence in the luxury of sorrow. Agitators complained of the misspent wealth of the crown and prophesied the impending fall of the monarchy. To an offensive pamphlet styled "What does She do with it?" professing to make an expert examination of the queen's private expenditure, a semi-official reply was made. The chancellor of the exchequer contradicted the allegation that the queen paid no income tax, and Gladstone insisted that her personal income was wholly at her own disposal.[2] The sympathy evoked by the queen's illness of September, 1871, the very strong feeling aroused by the days of anxiety in the following December when the Prince of Wales's life hung in the balance, owing to a dangerous attack of typhoid fever, and the subsequent rejoicings upon his recovery, did much to improve the relations between crown and people. The wave of anti-monarchical sentiment ebbed from this moment, and disloyal or even un-

[1] Morley, *Gladstone*, ii., 425, where an informing quotation is given from the *Pall Mall Gazette* of September 29, 1871.

[2] *Parl. Debates*, ccvii., 1124, ccviii., 158; Lee, *Queen Victoria*, pp. 356, 417.

friendly references to the queen in the press became very rare indeed. As the years went on the queen's popularity increased, and during the last quarter of her long life she was regarded with the deepest affection by all classes among her subjects.

The queen's renewed activity was partly due to her distrust of the ministerial foreign policy. While ready to defer to her cabinet on domestic questions, she maintained her right to exercise a concurrent control over the external relations of the empire. She had a shrewd judgment on international politics; and in regard to them she was not much in sympathy with Gladstone, who indeed seldom carried into foreign affairs the seriousness and the grasp of detail which he brought to bear upon domestic legislation and finance. In his first ministry he had already shown signs of that reluctance to assert British interests, when the process involved risk or expenditure, which was to become more marked at a later stage of his career. Some liberals who believed in a spirited foreign policy were growing impatient of their own party chiefs and inclined to look with more indulgence on the leaders of the conservatives.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE CONSERVATIVE REVIVAL; SOCIAL REFORM AND A SPIRITED FOREIGN POLICY.

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THE new conservative party found itself at length not merely in office but in power. It was no longer obliged to exist on sufferance as had been the case during the Derby-Disraeli administration. It had a strong body of opinion behind it in the constituencies; and the increasing dependence of the liberals upon the vote of the trade unions and the superior mechanics was gradually turning over to their opponents that commercial element which had been as a rule steadily liberal since the days of Lord Liverpool. It was strange enough that the son of a Jewish man of letters should have found himself the leader of the English aristocracy; it was even more remarkable that the author of *Coningsby* and *Sybil*, the Young Englander of the 'forties, should in his old age have been looked upon by the solid mercantile classes as their protector against adventure and innovation.

Disraeli received the queen's commands to form a new ministry on February 18, 1874, and his arrangements were soon complete. Cairns inevitably became lord chancellor; the Duke of Richmond, president of the council and leader of the upper house. From the peers, too, were taken the foreign secretary, Lord Derby; the secretary for India, Lord Salisbury; and the secretary for the colonies, Lord Carnarvon. The chancellorship of the exchequer fell to Sir Stafford Northcote, the ablest by far of the conservative financiers; Gathorne Hardy became secretary for war, and Lord John Manners, the friend of Disraeli's "Young England" days, postmaster-general. The home office went to an untried man in Richard Assheton Cross, the director of a Lancashire bank, and the appointment was an example of Disraeli's insight into character. Another useful

recruit from the business classes was William Henry Smith, the financial secretary to the treasury, who soon gained the confidence of the house of commons by his plain good sense and obvious integrity. CHAP. XIII.

The country needed rest after a long spell of legislative activity, and the queen's speech dealt only with modest measures of utility. The prime minister was disposed to rest on his laurels, an attitude the more tempting because Gladstone, in a letter to Granville, intimated that, though he would continue to act as leader of the opposition for the time being, he did not intend to make more than an occasional attendance in the house of commons during the session. Left devoid of direction, the liberal party offered but perfunctory criticism to the home secretary's licensing bill, the object of which was to amend Bruce's act of 1872. It abolished inquisitional incursions on the part of the police into publicans' private rooms, and fixed the hours of closing at 12.30 P.M. for London, 11 for other populous places, and 10 for rural districts. Another unexceptionable measure was the Duke of Richmond's Scottish patronage bill, introduced by him on May 18. It vested presentations in the communicants of the parishes, to whom were added, at the instance of the Duke of Argyll,[1] "members of the congregation, under regulations to be framed from time to time by the general assembly".

Sir Stafford Northcote's budget of April 16, though meeting with qualified approval from Gladstone, was accused of "frittering away" a surplus of £5,500,000. Northcote certainly refrained from grand finance, but his remissions pleased people of various classes: a penny was taken off the income tax; the sugar and the horse duties were abolished, and half a million was devoted to the reduction of the national debt. He vainly tried to elicit from Gladstone a disclosure of what his "adjustment scheme," with its abolition of the income tax, was to have been; and for his own part declined "lightly to throw down, at six weeks' notice," a system which had yielded since its existence no less than £350,000,000 of revenue. The session would have closed tamely enough had it not been for the passions excited by the public worship regulation bill. A

[1] *Autobiography and Memoirs of the Eighth Duke of Argyll*, ii., 313.

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bill had been drafted by Archbishop Tait on the strength of a request made by convocation four years previously in favour of legislation "for facilitating, expediting, and cheapening proceedings in enforcing clergy discipline". The high Church party early took alarm at the prospect of unending litigation, and Tait attempted to meet their views by substituting the court of appeal for the archbishops *in camerâ* as the last resort of an aggrieved incumbent. Even so the bill was repudiated by the lower house of convocation. The second reading having been carried in the house of lords without a division, the measure was copiously amended, chiefly at the instance of Lord Shaftesbury, who introduced clauses appointing a single lay judge, in place of the two ecclesiastical judges of the two provinces. Shaftesbury, an earnest evangelical, was prompted by another evangelical, Cairns, who privately promised him the whole support of the government.[1] The archbishop gave way, and the amendment was carried by 112 votes to 13.

Thus far the government had refrained from openly approving this irritating measure; two of its members, indeed, Lord Salisbury and Gathorne Hardy, were opposed to legislation under existing conditions. Gladstone emerged from his retirement to attack it, in an eloquent speech, and to propose six resolutions embodying the principles by which he thought ecclesiastical legislation should be guided. On July 15, Disraeli, whose first instinct had been to oppose the bill, surprised the house by describing it as designed to "put down ritualism," or "practices by a portion of the clergy, avowedly symbolic of doctrines which the same clergy are bound in the most solemn manner to refute and repudiate". For the moment this declaration was irresistible. Gladstone, on an appeal from a faithful supporter, withdrew his resolutions. But the house was given over to acrimony and personalities. Sir William Harcourt threw Erastian contempt on Gladstone's proposals, and received his recompense in an indignant rebuke. Disraeli, misapprehending a saying of Lord Salisbury's that the bill had been carried by a "blustering majority," held up his colleague to ridicule as "a great master of gibes and flouts and jeers".[2] In the commons the discretion of the bishops to allow, or to

[1] Hodder, *Life of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury*, iii., 347.
[2] *Parl. Debates*, ccxxi., 1358, Aug. 5, 1874.

refuse to allow, the act to be put in motion was made subject to an appeal to the archbishop. This innovation was struck out by the lords by 44 votes against 32, and through the personal influence of Tait and of Harold Browne, the bishop of Winchester, the commons accepted the alteration rather than lose the measure. The act, drastically administered by the new ecclesiastical judge, Lord Penzance, brought strife, not peace, to the Church, until even the serene mind of Dean Church despaired of its future.[1] Prosecutions were instituted; and four clergymen went to prison in the years 1878-81 for disobedience to the courts whose jurisdiction they challenged; and conflicting judgments threw the law into complete confusion.[2] The act, as Lord Selborne observes in his *Memorials*,[3] "added fuel to the fire it was meant to quench".

Early in the following year, January 13, 1875, Gladstone fulfilled his threat of abdicating the liberal leadership in a letter addressed to Lord Granville, which attributed that step to his personal views as to the best method of spending the closing years of his life.[4] Cardwell having received a peerage, and nonconformist hostility proving fatal to the claims of Forster, Lord Hartington, most reluctantly, undertook the thankless succession and the party confirmed the appointment. The government made fairly easy way with various measures of social utility, though much interruption was caused by Dr. Kenealy, the member for Stoke, who having been counsel to an obese impostor, Arthur Orton, claimant to the estates of Sir Roger Tichborne, thought fit to drag the case of his client, an erstwhile butcher—"the unhappy nobleman now languishing in prison" as a grotesque petition termed him—before the house with tiresome frequency. Loquacious obstruction adopted by the Irish home rulers, on the introduction of the peace preservation bill, a renewal with mitigations of previous legislation, was the beginning of much trouble to come.

But at the close of the session the government could point to a substantial batch of bills, all directed to the improvement of the condition of the people. The most important was, per-

[1] *Life and Letters of Dean Church*, p. 244.

[2] For a well-informed account of the prosecutions under the act, see Paul, *History of Modern England*, vol. iv., ch. xii.

[3] ii., 351. [4] Fitzmaurice, *Granville*, ii., 136-53.

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haps, Mr. Cross's public health act, consolidating and clarifying over a hundred measures which had been passed piecemeal. The artisans' dwellings act, introduced by the same minister, enabled the corporations of towns of over 20,000 inhabitants to acquire buildings, condemned by their medical officers, by compulsory purchase for purposes of improvement. Mr. Cross also amended the labour laws, reducing the number of breaches of contract which could be punished criminally, and limiting the cases in which trade combinations could be rendered liable to prosecution for conspiracy. Thanks to the acumen of Cairns, legal picketing was ultimately limited to watching or besetting for the purpose of giving or receiving information, while it was declared unlawful to use threats or to follow a workman persistently from place to place, or watch or beset the place where he worked with intent to interfere with his employment. By Northcote's friendly societies act, those bodies were given facilities for submitting their accounts to government inspection, though they were not subjected to compulsory supervision.

In the course of this efficient session Lord Cairns's land bill facilitated the registration of title and the transfer of landed property, while the Duke of Richmond's companion measure affecting agricultural holdings changed the presumption of the law so as to make it favour the tenant and granted him compensation for various kinds of improvement. The merchant shipping bill was forced upon the government by Samuel Plimsoll, the member for Derby, who for several years had been conducting an agitation against the sacrifice of sailors' lives through over-insurance, and the risk entailed by excessive and careless lading. The bill had made some progress when, on July 22, Disraeli announced that it must be abandoned for the session. Plimsoll's feelings got the better of him, and in a violent speech he threatened to "unmask the villains who have sent brave men to their death". For his excess of zeal he subsequently apologised, while declining to withdraw any statement of fact. Public opinion was with him, and in the last fortnight of the session the government passed a temporary bill, by which the board of trade was entrusted for a year with extraordinary powers for detaining ships, the responsibility of fixing a load line was thrown upon owners, and grain was prohibited in bulk where it formed more than a third of the cargo. These pro-

visions were made permanent in the following year, Plimsoll failing in his attempt to have the load-line compulsorily fixed in every case by the board of trade.

In Northcote's second budget, introduced on April 15, expenditure almost balanced revenue. The chancellor established, however, a notable sinking fund for the reduction of the national debt, involving an annual charge in every budget of £28,000,000. His calculations were that by 1885 £21,000,000 of debt would be paid off, and in thirty years' time £213,000,000. Gladstone attacked the project as "totally unreal," though reminded by Northcote that his own scheme of terminable annuities was merely a variation of it. Lowe, with more force, pointed out that a sinking fund could always be plundered whenever necessity arose—a prediction which embarrassed financiers, Northcote among them, were not long in making good.

Colonial and foreign affairs rapidly began to eclipse domestic occurrences in interest and importance. A sensational stroke of policy was effected in November, 1875, when the British government became the purchaser, for the sum of £5,000,000, of the Khedive Ismail's shares in the Suez Canal Company. About nine-twentieths of the shares in the company belonged to Ismail, the remainder being chiefly in the hands of French holders. The khedive, who was badly in want of money owing to his reckless expenditure and financial mismanagement, had been hawking his shares about for some time, and had almost concluded an arrangement with the French Société Générale. The negotiations becoming known, an offer was made on behalf of the British government and immediately accepted. The French government took the purchase in good part, and opinion was favourably influenced by a circular from the originator of the work, Ferdinand de Lesseps, approving the transaction. In England the public imagination was much struck by the promptitude and imaginativeness of the enterprise without fully appreciating that it would lead to increased responsibilities in Egypt, and might bring about friction with France. The way to India was regarded as thenceforth secure. So popular was the purchase that the leaders of the opposition determined on being "critically oracular" with regard to it when parliament met.[1] Gladstone contented himself with hinting that the

[1] Fitzmaurice, *Granville*, ii., 159.

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bargain was not a sound one from the business point of view: a suggestion singularly falsified by the event, since the stock, as Northcote predicted, rapidly increased in value.

In November the Prince of Wales paid a visit to India, which came to an end in the following March. He was received with unstinted loyalty by all classes and every race. The queen's speech of February 8, 1876, after referring to his gratifying reception, went on to point out that: "At the time the direct government of my Indian empire was transferred to the crown no formal addition was made to the style and titles of the sovereign. I have deemed the present a fitting opportunity for supplying this omission, and a bill upon the subject will be presented to you." On the 17th Disraeli in introducing the bill dwelt on the precedent of the change in the royal title consequent on the act of union with Ireland, and argued that the step would set a seal to the determination of the English people to maintain the empire, and be an answer to those who suggested that India was only a burden and a danger. Lowe, in the course of some singularly infelicitous observations, hinted that, as India had been nearly lost at the time of the mutiny, it was inconvenient to assume titles which there was no certainty of retaining. Disraeli's trenchant rebuke, that Lowe was the only member in the house who would use an argument of that kind, gave the debates an angry and personal turn which they never lost. The queen reproached her ex-ministers for running counter to her wishes, and they replied, somewhat lamely, through Granville, that Disraeli ought to have communicated with the leaders of the opposition beforehand. Granville also felt compelled to inform her that: "They have found a unanimous expression of opinion adverse to the particular title of 'empress,' and there are reasons to suppose that this adverse opinion is not confined to the liberal party".[1] That, however, was the title which, in the debate on the second reading, Disraeli announced that the queen had herself been pleased to select.

The fall of Napoleon III. and the tragedy of Maximilian of Mexico had undoubtedly brought temporary disrepute on the title of emperor. To many people it seemed tawdry and

[1] Fitzmaurice, *Granville*, ii., 162.

theatrical; others looked upon this as the first step along the path of adventure down which the premier was about to lead a mystified country. Disraeli calmed rising passions, however, by promising that the queen would never use the title of empress in England, and that princes of the blood royal would never be designated as of the blood imperial. Hartington's amendment to the effect that, while willing to consider a measure enabling the queen to make an addition to the royal style and title, the house thought it inexpedient to impair the ancient and royal dignity of the crown by the style and title of empress, was accordingly rejected by a majority of 105. In the house of lords the bill passed its first and second readings without a division, and when Lord Shaftesbury revived Hartington's amendment he was defeated by 137 votes to 91. "Labelled for external application only," was Lord Rosebery's humorous description of the new title; but when it was proclaimed in London and Edinburgh it was found to contain no such limitation, and an angry debate was again raised in the commons. When the hubbub had died away Disraeli was discovered to have been well-informed on the feeling of the natives of India. Proclaimed with great magnificence at Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and Delhi on new year's day, 1877, the title of Kaisar-i-Hind was much appreciated by them, while in England people soon began to wonder at the opposition this titular dignity had encountered.[1]

Occupied mainly by the rising eastern crisis parliament devoted but little attention to domestic legislation. The budget of 1876 showed a deficit of £774,000, and Northcote was obliged to increase the income tax by one penny. But he showed regard for those in narrow circumstances by fixing the line of exemption at £150 instead of at £100, by increasing the deduction from £80 to £120, and by applying it to all incomes of £400 and under. Lord Sandon's elementary education bill, which was intended to be complementary to the act of 1870, underwent a jealous scrutiny from the opposition on the ground that it was a circuitous attack on the school board system. Though accommodation for 3,150,000 children existed, the daily attendance only worked out at 1,800,000, and of these only

[1] For a frank change of opinion see Lord Selborne's *Memorials*, pt. ii., i., 444.

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1,000,000 offered themselves for examination. The machinery devised was that of attendance committees, and their appointment was made compulsory on town councils and boards of guardians. Sandon further introduced a declaratory clause to the effect that it was the duty of parents to send their children to school between the ages of five and ten. The children were to continue attending school up to fourteen, unless they could produce certificates of proficiency in the elements or of adequate attendance for the five previous years. Boards of guardians were directed to pay the fees for the children of very poor parents.

The lord chancellor added a final, and not altogether satisfactory, touch to his predecessor's reconstruction of the judicial system. Under Selborne's act the appellate jurisdiction of the house of lords had been abolished for England, though legislation as to Scotland and Ireland had been postponed to a future session. In 1874, and again in 1875, Cairns attempted to carry a bill transferring appeals from those two countries to a new and strong court, which would also take over English appeals. In the first year his bill was sacrificed in the commons; in the second he withdrew it, after the second reading had been carried, being confronted by a formidable combination of legal luminaries, who so far from desiring to destroy the jurisdiction of the house of lords over Scotch and Irish appeals, wished to restore it over English. When Cairns reintroduced his bill for the third time, in 1876, their influence was found to have prevailed. The house of lords retained its appellate jurisdiction, strengthened by the addition of two, and eventually four, salaried life peers; and a court of intermediate appeal, consisting of six ordinary and several *ex-officio* judges, was constituted. "The system of double appeal," wrote Lord Selborne, "to which I had so much desired to put an end, and which Lord Cairns had wished to reduce within as narrow limits as possible, was brought back without check or restraint."[1] But the legal profession rejoiced.

Disraeli had been constant in his attendance during the session, nor had his interventions in debate lost any of their old effectiveness. Still he felt need of rest, and on August

[1] *Memorials*, pt. ii., i., 314.

12, just before parliament rose, the unexpected announcement appeared that he would go to the house of lords as Earl of Beaconsfield and that Northcote would succeed him as leader of the commons. His last speech in the assembly, which had followed his utterances for nearly forty years, always with interest, and latterly with respect and often with enthusiasm, comprised a careful definition of British relations with the Ottoman empire, to the effect that while the two governments were not only allies but partners in the tripartite treaty of 1856, not a jot of evidence supported the assumption that Turkey should be upheld in any enormity it might commit.

The eastern question had by this time assumed a complicated and disturbing shape. The crisis began in the summer of 1875, when the Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina rose in revolt, not without prompting from Austria. With the object of "localising the conflict," Count Andrassy, the Austrian foreign minister, issued a note to the powers on December 30, 1875, recommending that the sultan should be advised to establish liberty of religion in the revolted provinces; and to carry out reforms through a mixed commission, half Christian and half Mohammedan. The British government accepted the Austrian proposal on January 20, 1876, but expected little from it. "I have considered it my duty," ran the queen's speech, "not to stand aloof from the efforts now being made by allied and friendly governments to bring about a pacification of the disturbed districts, and I have accordingly, while respecting the independence of the Porte, joined in urging on the sultan the expediency of adopting such measures of administrative reform as may remove all reasonable cause of discontent on the part of his Christian subjects." The Porte replied by deferring the payment of the April dividend on the loan for the public debt.

An outburst of Mohammedan fanaticism at Salonica, resulting in the murder of the French and German consuls on May 5, precipitated a crisis. France and Germany moved their Mediterranean squadrons into Turkish waters, and the British fleet anchored in Besika Bay. But the anarchic forces within the Turkish empire were not to be quelled by the presence of ironclads. The students rose in Constantinople, and the so-called party of reform, with Midhat Pasha at its head, having seized

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the reins of authority, the Sultan Abdul Aziz was coerced into abdication on the 30th, and by-and-by, according to Turkish precedent, he was found dead. His nephew and successor Murad proved to be an incapable weakling, and was deposed on August 31 in favour of his brother Abdul Hamid, a man of much subtlety, and as yet no tyrant. Before this second palace revolution, Servia, having placed Russian officers in her chief military commands, rushed into war on June 22 and Montenegro followed her example on July 2. A memorandum from Berlin, the hasty expedient of Bismarck, Gortchakov, and Andrassy, issued on May 11, recapitulated the dangers of the situation and the grievances of Bosnia and Herzegovina in strenuous language, and stated that the three imperial courts proposed to insist upon an armistice for three months, with "efficacious measures" as an ultimate resort, if peace had not then been attained. Lord Derby, after demurring to the memorandum on the ground that it left the control of events wholly with the insurgents, declined to accept a plan, in the preparation of which the British government had not been consulted, and which it did not believe would succeed. Armed intervention, as contemplated by the document, was repudiated by Disraeli in more direct language, because it would be tantamount to a violation of solemn treaty engagements. The memorandum was never presented to the Porte.

Hitherto the prominent members of the opposition, much divided among themselves, had been chary of criticism. The more ardent found a text in the facts, gradually leaking out, as to an insurrection which had occurred in Bulgaria, and had been repressed by Turkish irregulars with sanguinary violence. A London journal sent a special correspondent into the district, who was not sparing of repulsive details and appalling statistics, more imaginative sometimes than accurate. The real facts, though much exaggerated, were horrible enough. Disraeli at first discredited the story, and referring to the tortures alleged to have been committed on the victims, expressed the ill-advised opinion that the Turks usually adopted "more expeditious methods". The phrase took an unfortunate turn, though no sneer was intended.[1] But

[1] Andrew Lang, *Sir Stafford Northcote, First Earl of Iddesleigh*, *p.* 287.

the "Bulgarian atrocities" produced a tempestuous agitation which swept over Great Britain in the autumn of 1876. Gladstone published a pamphlet early in September, entitled *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East*, which, to the consternation of Lord Hartington and most of his former colleagues, excluding the Duke of Argyll, pointed, so far as it contained any tangible suggestion, at armed intervention against the Turks. An extraordinarily eloquent and very inflammatory speech which he made to his constituents at Blackheath, provoked Beaconsfield into calling him a "designing politician," taking advantage of a moment of enthusiasm "to further his own sinister ends".[1] Finally Gladstone addressed a crowded meeting at St. James's Hall on December 8, and it was in the presence of the statesman who had lately been prime minister of England, that Freeman, a great historian and a fanatical champion of oppressed "nationalities," uttered words which deeply angered some influential liberals: "Perish the interests of England, perish our dominion in India, rather than she should strike one blow on behalf of Turkey, on behalf of the wrong against the right". Lord Hartington gloomily observed to Granville that Gladstone had done nothing to discredit these extravagances, and that, if he went much further, nothing could prevent the break-up of the liberal party.[2]

A report from Walter Baring, a member of the British embassy at Constantinople, had by this time turned public opinion into less torrential channels. The massacre of Bulgarians by Bashi-Bazuks, it appeared, had been by no means unprovoked. But "the way in which the rising was suppressed was inhuman to the last degree, fifty innocent persons suffering for every guilty one," and Baring estimated the number of those who had been put to death in the sandjak of Philippopolis alone at 12,000. The foreign secretary expressed the feelings of his countrymen by addressing to the Turkish government an uncompromising reprimand. Derby's chief aim was to preserve peace at whatever cost, Beaconsfield's to prevent Russia from using the crisis to realise ambitions of old standing. Their language inevitably began to differ in tone as the prospect of the tsar's intervention on behalf of the in-

[1] Speech at Aylesbury, September 20, 1876.
[2] Fitzmaurice, *Granville*, ii., 167.

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surgent principalities drew nearer. Though the Montenegrins held their own against the Turks, the Servians, after some preliminary successes, were beaten back on every side. England came to their rescue by pressing an armistice on the Porte, and on September 16 the Turkish government agreed to a suspension of hostilities. Prince Milan, of Servia, used the interval to get himself proclaimed king, and, having received reinforcements of Russian officers and men, plunged into war again, much to the displeasure of the British government. He was beaten after a five days' battle, and the loss of his positions left the road to his capital completely open. On November 31, the Russian ambassador, General Ignatiev, wrung a month's armistice from the Porte by threatening to leave Constantinople within forty-eight hours.

To the use of force England stood inflexibly opposed, though Count Shuvalov, the Russian ambassador in London, put forward, on September 26, a specious proposal that Bulgaria should be occupied by Russian, and Bosnia by Austrian troops, while the united fleets of the powers should enter the Bosphorus. The British government refused to entertain the idea; but the tsar clung to it, and in an audience at Livadia, on November 2, told the English ambassador, Lord Augustus Loftus, that he "pledged his sacred word of honour, in the most earnest and solemn manner, that he had no intention of acquiring Constantinople, and that, if necessity should oblige him to occupy a portion of Bulgaria, it would only be provisionally and until the peace and safety of the Christian population were assured". The proposal that a conference should meet at Constantinople was accepted by the powers. But the hopes of peace waxed dim when Beaconsfield, who had thoroughly gauged the aggressiveness of Russia, wound up a stirring speech at the Guildhall on November 9 with the intimation that "in a righteous cause—and he trusted that England would never embark in war except in a righteous cause—a cause that concerned her liberty, her independence, or her empire, England was not a country that would have to inquire whether she would enter into a second or third campaign". Next day the tsar delivered an address at Moscow, in which he intimated his intention of acting independently, should the conference fail to bring peace, and his conviction that the whole of Russia would respond to his sum-

mons. The Constantinople conference, which Salisbury attended as British plenipotentiary, dragged on its futile existence from December 11 to January 20, 1877. With short-sighted astuteness Abdul Hamid affected to reckon on the support of the British government, though Salisbury intimated in the plainest language to the Turkish plenipotentiaries that the Porte must not look to England for assistance if her refusal to accept the demands of the powers resulted in war.

Nevertheless a protocol, re-stating their collective demands, with some trifling additions, was rejected by the Porte; and Russia declared war against Turkey on April 24, 1877. Incompetence in the chief commands, and unpreparedness combined with corruption, characterised the opening proceedings of both armies. Kars, with no Fenwick Williams to animate its defence, fell to an assault on November 18, by General Loris Melikoff. In Europe the Russians pressed downwards through Rumania, that state having found it expedient to concede to them a free passage, crossed the Danube, took Nicopolis, and threw a flying detachment under General Gurko over the Balkans. But Osmán Pasha fortified Plevna and held it with a heroism that moved the world to admiration, while Gurko was driven back into the mountains, and the Shipka Pass was taken only to be lost again. After a five months' defence Osmán tried to cut his way out, failed, and delivered up his sword on December 10. From that moment the resistance of Turkey broke down at every point. On January 20, 1878, Adrianople was abandoned without a blow being struck, and the exhausted, fever-stricken troops of the tsar struggled into the town. Russia had come within touch of Constantinople; but her resources were for the moment at an end, while the Turks were equally reduced to cowering behind the flimsy defences of the capital at Chataldja.

The policy of the British ministers had hitherto been clearly defined. Faithful to treaty obligations, they had disclaimed any intention of coercing the Porte, though they had plainly intimated what the consequences of an obstinate refusal to listen to the advice of Europe would be. There was a point, however, at which the policy of non-intervention might have to give way to more active measures, particularly if British interests were directly or indirectly threatened.

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Derby took occasion to define those interests in a letter to Count Shuvalov of May 6, 1877. Foremost among them was the necessity of keeping open, uninjured, and uninterrupted, the communication between Europe and the east by the Suez Canal. Gortchakov despatched a reply to this communication on the 30th. He undertook in definite terms to abstain from any interference with the Suez Canal, nor should Egypt be brought within the radius of the Russian military operations. The war should not be extended so as to touch the Persian Gulf and the route to India. With respect to Constantinople, the Russian chancellor repeated that the acquisition of that capital was excluded from the views of the emperor, and in any case it could not be allowed to belong to any of the European powers. This language, it was noticed, by no means precluded the temporary occupation of Constantinople to be prolonged on one pretext or another.

To Derby's conception of British interests the opposition had no coherent course of action to put before the country by way of alternative. The opening nights of the session revealed the utmost divergence of view between Kimberley, who invoked the name of Palmerston in protest against any change which would throw the Turkish dominion into the hands of a European power, and the Duke of Argyll, an enthusiastic supporter of the autumn agitation, who declared that every insurrection against the Turkish government was a legitimate movement. With the opposition in the lords thus at issue between themselves, Beaconsfield contented himself with one important speech during the session, and that mainly retrospective, and Derby observed congenial reticence. No greater harmony prevailed in the commons, where Lord Hartington and Forster insisted that limits must be set to Russian designs, while Gladstone secured support for "bag-and-baggage" ideas from radicals like Professor Fawcett and Mr. Chamberlain, the recently elected member for Birmingham. To the consternation of his former colleagues, he suddenly gave notice of five resolutions, comprehensively censuring the "unspeakable Turk," as Carlyle called him,[1] and advocating guarantees for a just and humane administration, to be imposed by the concert of Europe.

[1] See Carlyle's letter to the *Times*, May 5, 1877.

Several of the ex-ministers met in his absence and actually decided on voting for the previous question; but after agitated negotiations Gladstone consented to withdraw three of his resolutions and to modify one of the two remaining.[1] On May 14, the house was finally asked to vote on the remote issue that "just cause of dissatisfaction and complaint" were to be found "in the conduct of the Ottoman Porte with regard to the despatch written by the Earl of Derby on September 21, 1876, and relating to the massacres of Bulgaria," and gave the government the abnormal majority of 131. CHAP. XIII.

Gladstone, with whom the anti-Turkish agitation was now, according to his biographer,[2] "a strong obsession," kept it alive during the summer by excited speeches to parties of tourists who went on pilgrimage to Hawarden. The question was beginning to divide the leaders of the ministerial party as well as the opposition, and signs appeared that there was schism within the cabinet. Carnarvon and Derby, in particular, were thought to display a want of spirit. But the prime minister, speaking at the Guildhall on November 9, remarked that though the independence of Turkey had been a subject of ridicule a year previously, it was no longer in doubt. The speech from the throne on January 17, 1878, uttered an earnest hope that peace would be attained, and expressed satisfaction that neither belligerent had infringed the conditions on which British neutrality was founded. "But I cannot conceal from myself," it went on, "that, should hostilities be unfortunately prolonged, some unexpected occurrence may render it incumbent on me to adopt measures of precaution." Shortly afterwards Northcote announced that he proposed to move a supplementary estimate, fixed at six millions, for military and naval supplies, the reason being the rapid advance of Russia towards the Turkish capital. On the 23rd the public was startled by the announcement that the British fleet had been ordered to the Dardanelles. The dissentient ministers, Derby and Carnarvon, thereupon resigned; but the former withdrew his resignation when the fleet was called back.

Admiral Hornby had made for the straits on January 24, and had received permission to enter them from the pasha in

[1] Morley, *Gladstone*, ii., 565. [2] *Ibid.*, ii., 562.

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command at Chernak, when telegraphic orders came from the admiralty to return to Besika Bay.[1] A telegram from Layard, who had succeeded Elliot as ambassador at Constantinople, was the cause of this disconcerting *volte-face*. It announced that the heads of an armistice had been drawn up. The official version of the terms proposed by Russia were: (1) The creation of Bulgaria as an autonomous tributary principality, within the limits of the Bulgarian nationality; (2) the independence of Montenegro, Rumania, and Servia with various additions of territory; (3) an autonomous administration for Bosnia and Herzegovina; (4) similar reforms for the other Christian provinces; (5) an indemnity to Russia; and (6) an ulterior understanding for safeguarding the rights and interests of Russia in the straits. The Turks protested against the size of the new Bulgaria, but in vain, and on the 31st the armistice was signed at Adrianople.

Feeling in England was highly excited and a good deal divided. Many liberals, and nonconformists in particular, had been too genuinely moved by Gladstone's crusade to acquiesce in any steps for the support of the Turks. On the other hand there was a growing sentiment of indignation against Russia, and a militant "jingoism," as it was called,[2] was very perceptible throughout the country, and particularly in London. The air was thick with rumours. On February 7 a telegram from Layard was communicated to the house to the effect that the Russians were advancing, despite the armistice, and had seized Chataldja, less than thirty miles from Constantinople. The statement produced a temporary panic in the city of London; and in the commons Forster withdrew a hostile amendment to the vote of credit which for several nights had been under debate. Next day the chancellor of the exchequer corrected Layard's statement on the authority of Gortchakov. The division on the vote of credit question gave ministers a majority of 204, more than three to one. At the same time the government decided to send the fleet through to Constanti-

[1] Mrs. F. Egerton, *Admiral of the Fleet Sir G. P. Hornby*, p. 232.

[2] The nickname, which retained its currency in English politics for several years, was derived from a music-hall song of this autumn, which declared that

"We don't want to fight, but by jingo if we do,
We've got the ships, we've got the men, we've got the money too!"

nople. On the 13th Hornby made the straits in a snowstorm after a formal protest from the Porte, and came to anchor two mornings later at Prinkipo, ten miles off the capital. He was there ostensibly for the protection of the life and property of British subjects. But he also scared away the Grand Duke Nicholas who was terrorising the sultan at Constantinople, while, as Hornby reported, Russian troops were being massed close to Gallipoli.[1] At the same time military and naval preparations were urged forward at Woolwich and the dockyards, and reinforcements were hurried out to the Mediterranean. Lord Napier of Magdala was ordered to hold himself in readiness to take command of a possible expedition, with Sir Garnet Wolseley as his chief of the staff.

The treaty of San Stefano, wrung by the Russian diplomatist Ignatieff out of the sultan's necessities, was signed on March 3. Following the main lines of the peace conditions, it contained many stipulations which were objectionable to Europe in general and to England in particular. Chief among them was the "big Bulgaria," which was found to come right down to the Ægean, though Salonika remained to the Turks. The treaty, as the British government had warned the Russian so far back as January 14, was required to be submitted to the collective revision of Europe. To that end the Austrian government proposed first a conference at Baden-Baden, and then a congress at Berlin. The British government insisted that the survey of the congress should range over all questions dealt with by the treaty. Gortchakov replied that the instrument would be textually communicated to the great powers before the meeting of the congress, and that "in the congress itself each power will have the full liberty of its appreciations and its actions". This ambiguous phrase was thus defined: "Russia leaves to the other powers the liberty of raising such questions at the congress as they might think fit to discuss, and reserves to itself the liberty of accepting or not accepting the discussion of these questions".

The attitude of the Russian foreign office brought the two powers to the very brink of war. The negotiations for the congress were broken off, and the decision to call out the

[1] Egerton, *Hornby*, p. 252.

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reserves produced, with other causes, the long-deferred resignation of Derby, who, on April 2, was succeeded as foreign secretary by Salisbury. His explanation hinted at more formidable reasons of difference, and some months later he took an opportunity for declaring that he had quitted the cabinet because the island of Cyprus, together with a point on the Syrian coast, were to have been seized by a secret naval expedition sent out from England with or without the consent of the sultan. Salisbury pointedly contradicted him out of his own memory and that of several of his colleagues, and drew a scornful parallel between Derby's revelations and those of Titus Oates. The truth seems to be that the retiring foreign secretary failed to distinguish between a conversation on the possible steps to be taken in the event of a Russian advance to the coast of Asia Minor, and the definite decision to call out the reserves.[1]

Derby's resignation had relieved the government of an element which made for indecision. Salisbury promptly issued a circular to the British representatives abroad, in which he pointedly defined the blots on the treaty of San Stefano. The nation watched with approval the readiness with which the reservists went back to the colours. On the eve of the Easter recess Northcote assured the house of commons that nothing had occurred which in any way increased the gravity of the position, or which tended to diminish the hopes of a satisfactory settlement. Next day a Calcutta telegram announced that orders had been received by the Indian government to despatch 7,000 native troops to Malta. The opposition selected constitutional precedent as their basis of attack. The government was reproached in both houses because, contrary to statute, Indian troops had been sent to Europe by the mere authority of the crown and without the consent of parliament. But the bold stroke was popular in the country, for the war spirit was running higher day by day, assuming on occasions unseemly forms as in the breaking of Gladstone's windows by a mob of London "jingoes". Behind it all there was a widespread conviction that British interests were involved and were worth fighting for.

Fortunately diplomacy had not said its last word. To

[1] Lang, *Sir Stafford Northcote*, ii., 108.

Lord Augustus Loftus appears to have belonged the credit of suggesting that meetings between Lord Salisbury and Shuvalov, who had recently been in conference with the tsar at St. Petersburg, would remove the obstacles to the assemblage of the congress.[1] Salisbury and Shuvalov came to an agreement (intended to be kept private), signed on May 30, by which the enlarged Bulgaria was to be divided into two provinces, of which the southern was to be thrust back from the Ægean and remain subject to the sultan under a Christian governor; Bayazid was to be restored to Turkey, and the duty of protecting the Ottoman empire in Asia from danger was recognised as resting largely on England. The government thereupon announced that Germany had invited the European powers to a congress at Berlin for June 13, and that the whole treaty of San Stefano would be discussed. The secret agreement was divulged in the *Globe* newspaper by a foreign office copyist, just after the English plenipotentiaries, Beaconsfield and Salisbury, had started on their mission, and it excited some bitter criticism. Yet without such an understanding the congress would never have met. CHAP. XIII.

The Berlin congress, it was said, had been reduced to a court of registration. The debates, nevertheless, took an animated turn, and in them Beaconsfield made an imposing figure. Bismarck, the president, leaned strongly to the side of England.[2] Bulgaria was given an elected prince, its own army, and its fortresses, including Varna and Sofia. South of the Balkans, the region known as Eastern Rumelia, was to form an autonomous province, ruled by a Christian governor, who was to be nominated by the Porte with the assent of the powers. Austria was entrusted with the occupation and administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This arrangement was the outcome of a meeting between the Tsar Alexander and the Emperor Francis Joseph at Reichstadt on July 8, 1876, and was the price paid by Russia for Austrian neutrality during the war.[3] The independence of Rumania, Servia,

[1] Lord A. Loftus, *Diplomatic Reminiscences*, iv., 249.

[2] Bismarck's *Reminiscences* (Eng. trans.), ii., *passim*; Busch, *Bismarck: Some Secret Pages of his History* (Eng. trans.), ii., 393-95; and the *Hohenlohe Memoirs* (Eng. trans.), ii., 206-227.

[3] Bismarck's *Reminiscences*, ii., 232; and Loftus, iv., 174.

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and Montenegro was acknowledged. In general terms the Porte guaranteed full religious liberty to its Christian subjects. In Asia, Batum, ceded by Russia, was declared a free port by the tsar, and that declaration was embodied in an article of the treaty. On July 4 came the announcement that on the 4th of the previous month a separate convention had been concluded with Turkey. Under it Great Britain agreed for all future time to defend the Asiatic dominions of the Ottoman empire "by force of arms". In return the sultan promised to introduce all necessary reforms, as agreed on with his ally, and to hand over the island of Cyprus for occupation and administration by England at an annual tribute. Bismarck closed the congress on July 13, with the assertion that it had deserved well of Europe.

Such was the famous "peace with honour" which Beaconsfield announced to the cheering crowds in Whitehall that he had brought back from Berlin. Had he recommended a dissolution of parliament in the summer of 1878 the conservatives would probably have carried the country. Unlike some other prime ministers before and since Beaconsfield declined to reap that easy electoral triumph which commonly awaits a party that has successfully touched the patriotic note. His admirers believed that he refrained because he did not wish an important question of English foreign policy to be degraded into a party issue. His virtue, if this was in fact his motive, was not rewarded by success. His administration began to lose ground and showed signs of weakness. Distracted by eastern affairs and water-logged by Irish obstruction, the ministry fell away from its record of meritorious legislation. An Irish judicature act, extending Selborne's statute to the sister isle, Cross's prison acts, and Gathorne Hardy's university act, of which the main object was to increase the teaching facilities at Oxford and Cambridge, to encourage research and to diminish the number of clerical and "idle" fellowships, formed the scanty harvest of the session of 1877. These measures, however, attracted little attention compared with the tension and disorder which prevailed in the house of commons. The definite separation of the Irish home rulers from the liberal party at the beginning of the session of 1877 was followed by an alarming increase of parliamentary obstruction.

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The formidable activity of the home rulers was due to the efforts of a determined group of Irishmen, impatient of the moderation by which the policy of the party had been directed, under the cautious leadership of Isaac Butt, since 1871. Butt was thrust aside; his nominal successor, Shaw, was only the shadow in front of a stronger and more uncompromising leader, Charles Stewart Parnell, member for county Meath, who was destined to play a dramatic part in English and Irish affairs during the next twelve years. Parnell was the last person who might have been expected to become the chosen champion of a party depending on the votes of a Celtic and Catholic population. He was a Protestant, and a landowner, and had been an undergraduate at Cambridge: purely English by descent on the father's side and American on the mother's. He was thirty-one at this time, a man of handsome presence, with an iron will, and an icy coldness of manner under which burnt passions of volcanic intensity. His followers, whom he treated with haughty reserve, were dominated and fascinated by him; and if they sometimes chafed under his mastery they were carried away by the unhesitating directness with which he pursued the ideal of Irish nationalism. His love for Ireland was questionable; but of his bitter hate for England there was no doubt at all. He believed that the first step towards an Irish parliament was to make the English parliament ineffective; and he carried the art of obstruction to a length it had never before attained. Aided by Biggar, member for Cavan, a grotesque individual, who thoroughly enjoyed the task of baiting and bewildering the "alien" legislature, he set the forms of the house at defiance. All-night sittings and the suspension of members were tried without effect; and Northcote carried resolutions intended to limit the number of speeches a member might deliver in committee, but they broke down in practice.

To the longest session in parliamentary annals succeeded a disappointing list of measures passed in 1878. Cross's factory and workshops bill consolidated previous legislation by compressing the provisions of some forty-five acts within one statute. The animals contagious diseases bill was a drastic attempt to stamp out epidemics among cattle, which the government carried in a weakened form through deference to an ill-informed agitation. The Irish intermediate education bill

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diverted £1,000,000 of the Church surplus to the encouragement in secondary schools of the classics, modern languages and literature, mathematics, and science. The work of the Church of England was forwarded by the creation of bishoprics at Newcastle-on-Tyne, Liverpool, Wakefield, and Southwell, and of a chapter at Truro.

The Afghan war, the outcome of Lord Lytton's adventurous Indian policy, and the Zulu war[1] also told against the government at the opening of the session of 1879. To it were added agricultural depression in England and Ireland; the decline of trade, which, translated into reductions of wages, had created strikes during the previous year among the Welsh miners and the Lancashire weavers, and which culminated during February in the rioting of the Liverpool dock-labourers; the general discomfort of a hard winter; and the local misery caused by the failure of the City of Glasgow bank after years of falsified accounts. Northcote's modest alteration in the rules of procedure was of small avail in stemming the acrimonious opposition offered by the Irish home rulers and some of the radicals to an army regulation bill, introduced by Colonel Stanley, the secretary for war. His measure was a substitute for the annual mutiny bill, and incorporated the articles of war. Received at first with general approval, its clauses retaining flogging provoked before long the hottest of criticism. Lord Hartington's apparent indifference so angered Mr. Chamberlain, now rapidly coming to the front among the advanced radicals, that he talked of "the noble lord, lately the leader of the opposition, now the leader of a section of the opposition". An Irish universities bill, on the other hand, received from the nationalist members the treatment of ostentatious indifference. It abolished the Queen's university, and created instead an examining body with the power of conferring degrees on all candidates irrespective of the place of education. This timid compromise was far from conciliating Roman catholic opinion.

Finance and the condition of the people received their full share of attention during the session. Northcote attempted by his public works loans bill to check the borrowing pro-

[1] See *infra*, p. 316.

pensities of local authorities. He pointed out that, in the ten years, from 1869 to 1878, the sum advanced amounted to more than £20,500,000. But his bill was warmly contested by Mr. Chamberlain, Rylands, and other advocates of municipal enterprise, and, in the end, it dwindled into little more than a provision that the sums borrowed by any one body in a twelvemonth, should not exceed £100,000. Northcote's own finance inevitably provoked criticism, inasmuch as his figures made for despondency. Instead of an anticipated surplus, he acknowledged a deficit of £2,291,000, and expected that he would be called upon for further military expenditure amounting to £1,000,000 or £1,500,000. The general management of finance was attacked on April 24 by Rylands in a series of resolutions deprecating national extravagance. The discussion wandered off into denunciations from the liberal side of the profligacy of imperialism, though Gladstone laid his finger with much effect on laxity of administration as a cause of rising outlay. The government had a majority of 72.

The state of agriculture appeared to call even more urgently for attention. In 1874, the labourers of the eastern counties, under the leadership of Joseph Arch, had formed a union, with branches in other parts of the country, and forced the farmers to raise their wages. The movement was just, but it came at an unfortunate time for the farmers and landowners. An unprecedented series of bad harvests had led up to that of 1879, the worst of the century. The capital of the agricultural industry had already been reduced by 30 to 50 per cent. when the collapse of prices, beginning in 1875, and due to the cheapening of transport from America, fell upon it.[1] Plough land went out of cultivation; farms remained unlet in spite of liberal reductions of rent; agricultural labourers, the value of their manual skill having also diminished through the introduction of new machinery, flocked into the towns. There were those who advocated as a remedy a return to reciprocity, or, as it was called, to fair trade. Beaconsfield, however, treated their arguments with scant ceremony, reminding them that the articles on the tariff, by which commercial treaties could be negotiated, had dwindled from 168 in Peel's days to

[1] Sir James Caird, in T. Humphry Ward, *Reign of Queen Victoria*, ii., 143.

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twenty-two. "The fact is," he said on April 29, "speaking generally, that reciprocity, whatever its merits, is dead." The government appointed a royal commission to inquire into the causes of agricultural depression with the Duke of Richmond as its president, and with a wide reference including the condition of farms, farmers, and labourers, the land laws, agricultural knowledge, and agricultural statistics.

While bad harvests and low prices brought distress on England, they brought famine on the west of Ireland. At last Parnell found the opportunity for which he had been watching and waiting. Elected president of the home rule federation of Great Britain in 1877, he gained the ear of the Fenians, and was in touch, though not in complete agreement, with the Irish revolutionary brotherhood which had its headquarters in Paris, and an American organisation known as the Clan-na-Gael.[1] On October 31 the Irish national land league was founded in Dublin. Its object was declared to be two-fold; the reduction of rack-rents and the transfer of the ownership of land to the occupiers. Parnell, as president of the land league, addressed meeting after meeting, advising the farmers at Navan to offer what they considered fair rent, and if it was refused to pay none until the landlords came to their senses. A month afterwards he told the Irish electoral league at Manchester that Ireland had struck against unjust exactions. Fair rents, he thought, should be paid for thirty years, and the land should then become the property of the tenant. In the closing days of the year he went to America with the double aim of raising funds for the land league and of getting the Clan-na-Gael to adopt "the new departure". In both objects he succeeded. To the house of representatives at Washington, which he was permitted to address, he expounded, in moderate language, a plan for expropriating the Irish landlords at fair compensation. Frankly revolutionary at Cincinnati, he declared on February 20, 1880, that "none of us, whether we are in America or Ireland, or wherever we may be, will be satisfied until we have destroyed the last link which keeps Ireland bound to England".

A slight return of prosperity marked the autumn. But

[1] R. Barry O'Brien, *Life of C. S. Parnell*, i., ch. viii.

Gladstone could appeal to that longing for political change which bad trade and slack employment produce—a sense of dissatisfaction sharpened by yet another military disaster, the massacre of the Cavagnari mission at Kábul[1]—when, having become parliamentary candidate for Midlothian, he started on a political campaign. On November 24 he left Liverpool, and, after a discharge of oratory in the railway stations by the way, he addressed audience after audience in the constituency. Admiration for the veteran's physical vigour and the contagion of his unaffected appetite for popular applause received an increased effect from the solemnity of his denunciation of the government. Yet he ignored the most serious issue of all, the state of Ireland, save for a vague declaration that, "if you ask me what I think of home rule, I must tell you that I will only answer you when you tell me how home rule is related to local government". The burden of his indictment consisted in an indignant repudiation of the foreign policy of the Beaconsfield administration and of its bearing on the national finances. The success of his appeal to economy and caution was seen at Sheffield, where the death of Roebuck, who had closed an eccentric career as a thoroughgoing supporter of Beaconsfield, resulted in the election of a nonconformist radical. But the Midlothian campaign grievously alarmed some whiggish liberals who perceived in it a bid for the resumption of the official opposition leadership. "As an exhibition of intellectual and oratorical power," commented Selborne, "it was very remarkable, but it was a precedent tending in its results to the degradation of British politics by bringing in a system of perpetual canvass, and removing the political centre of gravity from parliament to the platform."[2]

The Irish executive had displayed irresolution in dealing with the land league; Davitt and other agitators were arrested, but admitted to bail, and no further action was taken. Assisted by private charity, organised by the Duchess of Marlborough, the wife of the lord-lieutenant, and by the lord mayor of Dublin, the administration also applied itself with zeal to the alleviation of agrarian distress. When parliament met, on February 5, 1880, Northcote explained that the yield of the principal Irish crops had been £10,000,000 less in 1879 than in

[1] See *infra*, p. 309.

[2] Selborne, *Memorials*, pt. ii., i., 470.

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1878, and that only 22,000,000 cwt. of potatoes had been grown as against an average for ten years of 60,000,000 cwt. The local authorities had, therefore, been empowered to go beyond the law in the distribution of food and fuel, and were now to be given facilities for borrowing on the rates to meet extraordinary expenditure. Further, loans at 1 per cent., extending over thirty-five years, had been offered to landowners and sanitary authorities for drainage, planting, and other works calculated to give employment to unskilled labour. They were advanced on the security of the Irish Church surplus and, as the rate of interest was lower than the law sanctioned, the government applied for the necessary indemnity. Though ridiculed by the home rule members as inadequate, the relief of distress bill became law by the beginning of March, an amendment prohibiting landlords from exercising the right of eviction, when money borrowed under the measure had been applied to the holding, having been struck out in the lords.

The government proceeded with its business with every sign of industry. Northcote made yet another attempt to grapple with obstruction by carrying a resolution enabling the house to suspend, without debate, for the remainder of its sitting a member who disregarded the authority of the chair. Mr. Cross introduced a London water bill, creating a central body to which the water companies were to transfer their property and surrender their powers. The home secretary estimated the value of the stocks to be transferred at from £27,000,000 to £28,000,000. But a rapid rise in the price of the shares of the principal water companies proved that he had made an unsatisfactory bargain, and it was doubtful if the ministerial majority would hold together upon the bill. Partly for that reason, partly because a by-election at Southwark had gone in its favour, the government, on March 8, abruptly announced the dissolution of parliament. Northcote had to face the consequences of bad times, and an adventurous foreign and colonial policy, the Zulu war costing over £6,000,000, and the preparations for war with Russia about the same. He created a floating debt of £8,000,000, of which he proposed to pay off £6,000,000 with interest in five years, and took £600,000 from the sinking fund. On the 24th this long and memorable parliament came to an end.

Beaconsfield at once stated the question which was to dominate all others in a letter to the Duke of Marlborough. After enumerating the benefits conferred by the government on Ireland, he continued: "Nevertheless, a danger, in its ultimate results scarcely less disastrous than pestilence or famine, and which now engages your excellency's anxious attention, distracts that country. A portion of its population is attempting to sever the constitutional tie which unites it to Great Britain in that bond which has favoured the power and prosperity of both. It is to be hoped that all men of light and leading will resist this destructive doctrine." Gladstone disposed of this warning as "dark allusions" and "terrifying insinuations". His second Midlothian campaign was practically a repetition of the first, except that he offered a gratuitous insult to Austria on the strength of a newspaper rumour that the Emperor Francis Joseph had expressed the hope that the elections would result in the maintenance of the Beaconsfield ministry. Against the torrential eloquence of Gladstone neither Northcote's defence of his finance nor Mr. Cross's eulogy of a policy which had averted war in the east, could make much headway.

The liberals were also much assisted by the superior efficiency of their electoral machinery. Mr. Chamberlain, who had studied the American system, imported the "caucus" as it was called into Birmingham, where it had been employed in municipal elections. It had already been adopted by the liberals in many constituencies, where associations formed of the chief local supporters of the party superintended the registration of votes, undertook the business of canvassing, and selected the candidates. This organisation was afterwards generally adopted on both sides, and became part of the regular apparatus of politics, in spite of the objection of those who held that it tended to convert members of parliament from representatives to delegates. But in 1880 the conservatives had hardly discovered the utility, from an electioneering point of view, of the "caucus," and all the advantages it conferred were gained by their opponents. The liberals also received Irish support in the large towns, since the home rule federation urged its members to "vote against Benjamin Disraeli, as you should vote against the mortal enemy of your country and your race". But the

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main causes of a change of fortune, more startling than any of the opposition party managers had anticipated, was Gladstone's missionary fervour, playing upon popular discontent, the reaction against imperialism as exemplified in the Zulu and Afghan misadventures, the dislike of the nonconformists to Disraeli, and the desire for something fresh. The most positive proposal advanced by the liberals was the enlargement of the county franchise, an idea to which Lord Hartington had become a tardy convert; but they relied chiefly upon destructive criticism. By the end of the fourth day's polling the ministerial majority was swept away, and the final return was 349 liberals, 243 conservatives, and 60 home rulers. Two constituencies, Midlothian and Leeds, chose Gladstone, and he took his seat for Midlothian. His future antagonist, Parnell, was returned by three electorates. He decided to sit for Cork City, and promptly ousted Shaw from the nominal leadership of the home rule party. Beaconsfield did not meet parliament, but placed his resignation in the queen's hands on April 18, immediately after her return from the continent.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE BEACONSFIELD ADMINISTRATION: INDIAN AND COLONIAL AFFAIRS, 1874-80.

A FAMINE in Bengal confronted the Beaconsfield administration on its accession to office. The monsoon had failed in the previous autumn, and in the early days of January, 1874, distress appeared. Relief works, such as the completion of the Soane canal and the Northern Bengal railway had already been established. Lord Mayo, one of Disraeli's happiest selections of a comparatively unknown man for high office, had been appointed to succeed Lord Lawrence as governor-general in 1868. His able and useful viceroyalty was closed by the knife of an assassin, when he was visiting the convict settlement on the Andaman Islands in April, 1872. His successor was Lord Northbrook, a member of the great house of Baring, and a skilled financier. In dealing with the famine of 1874, Northbrook found himself sharply at issue with the lieutenant-governor of Bengal, Sir George Campbell, who contended that the export of the cheaper kinds of grain should be prohibited. The India office upheld the viceroy; Salisbury, the secretary of state, pointing out that the problem was less one of supply than of distribution, and that interference with private trade would produce a commercial panic. Energetic officials were despatched to the distressed districts, and Sir Richard Temple, for one, worked wonders in Bihar. The numbers on the relief works rose steadily until, from 287,000 at the beginning of February, they reached 1,500,000 in the middle of June. Charity came to the assistance of the ryots; a Mansion House fund amounted to £130,000. The under-secretary, Lord George Hamilton, had little difficulty in obtaining the consent of the commons for a loan of £10,000,000 in aid of the Indian government, thus leaving a considerable reserve, in case the worst

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fears should be realised, to an expenditure calculated at some £4,500,000. Fortunately good rains fell in June and September, an abundant harvest followed, and the relief works closed in October.[1]

The visit of the Prince of Wales to India lent lustre to the last months of Lord Northbrook's administration, though the proceedings of the government in connexion with the trial of the Gáekwár of Baroda exposed it to unsparing criticism. The Gáekwár was accused of attempting to rid himself of the British resident, Colonel Phayre, by poison. The trial took the form of a commission of inquiry, and the risky step was taken of associating three natives—the Maharaja Sindhia, the Maharaja of Jaipur, and Sir Dinkur Ráo—with the English members. The latter pronounced unanimously against the Gáekwár; their native coadjutors, carried away by the masterly defence by Serjeant Ballantine, the Gáekwár's counsel, held that the charge had not been proved. The viceroy escaped from the predicament thus created by deposing the Gáekwár on the ground of incompetence to rule.

On Northbrook's resignation Disraeli surprised the public in January, 1876, by recommending the appointment of Lord Lytton, the son of the novelist, hitherto known only as a graceful poet and courtly diplomatist. Once again Disraeli revealed his talent for piercing through the superficialities of manner to the essentials of character; once again it was to be demonstrated that the training of the *salon* and the library may sometimes develop a force and energy not always supplied by the senate and the camp. For Lytton, though on occasions impetuous and rash, displayed abundant vigour and unexpected resolution; if he shared the prime minister's taste for the dramatic, and even the theatrical element in politics, he had much of his own courage; his errors were due to haste and extreme self-confidence rather than to any want of insight or breadth of view. His tenure of the great post, to which he was thus suddenly called without any previous administrative or political experience, was destined to prove adventurous and exciting. He was soon immersed in negotiations with the Amír of Afghanistan, and in the congenial task of preparing for

[1] Sir R. Temple, *Men and Events of My Time in India*, ch. xvii.

the proclamation of the queen as Empress of India. The Delhi durbar of January 1, 1877, he wrote to her, was considered by all "the grandest spectacle and the most impressive they had ever seen"; and if the viceroy had carried his point it would have been accompanied by the initiation of a native peerage for India.[1] In the end, however, various princes were associated with the government as "councillors of the empress," while the Order of the Indian Empire was created for the non-official classes of the Europeans.

Before the meeting of the Delhi assemblage the administration had to confront a failure of crops in Southern and Western India, affecting an area of some 200,000 square miles. An examination of the various systems of relief decided Lytton to adopt that applied in Bombay, the employment of labour on large and remunerative public works. The government of Madras, on the other hand, had resorted to temporary expedients, and had in addition disturbed trade by large purchases of grain. Sir Richard Temple was despatched to the presidency as commissioner, the works were placed under stricter supervision, and the extravagant rate of wages was lowered.[2] But affairs relapsed into the old shiftless groove in July, until the viceroy paid personal visits to Madras and Mysore. Lytton infused new energy into the famine staffs in the affected provinces, and early in the following year the situation materially improved. It remained to devise a policy of prevention, and to that end the viceroy appointed a commission of inquiry, under the presidency of General Richard Strachey. Its report resulted in the compilation of codes for each province, special attention being paid to local conditions. Railway and irrigation works were also pushed on; and the "famine insurance fund" was established by the imposition of cesses on the land in Bengal and the upper provinces, which provided an annual sum of £1,500,000, devoted to the discharge of debt or security against it.

The finance of Lytton's administration included the abolition of the inland customs, the equalisation of the salt duties, and the removal of the sugar duties. The duties on cotton goods were

[1] Lady Betty Balfour, *Lord Lytton's Indian Administration*, p. 111.

[2] Temple, *Men and Events*, ch. xix.

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also reduced, on the viceroy's initiative and in opposition to the majority of his council, as an avowed preliminary to the introduction of complete free trade. The government further extended the system of provincial assignments of revenue, originally created by Mayo, and increased the native element in the civil service. An act of 1878 for preventing the vernacular press from incitement to disloyalty caused some ferment, but there could be no doubt that unscrupulous native journalists were playing upon the passions of an ignorant and excitable class at a moment when a collision between Great Britain and Russia seemed imminent. Repealed though the measure was in 1882, its aims had subsequently to be attained by an amendment of the law dealing with the circulation of seditious matter.

But Lytton's internal reforms in India were overshadowed by the startling developments of his Afghan policy. On his arrival in India, he found the amír, Sher Ali, estranged by the refusal of the Indian government in 1873 to grant him the protection he was anxious to obtain. Northbrook had been willing to guarantee money, arms, and, if necessary, troops to enable him to resist unprovoked invasion, provided he agreed to accept British advice in the conduct of foreign affairs. The viceroy had been over-ruled, however, by the secretary of state, the Duke of Argyll, and he could only offer the amír a limited supply of arms, and assure him that a Russian invasion of Afghanistan was not to be apprehended. In making that assertion, the Indian government relied upon categorical statements on the part of the Russian foreign office, notably Gortchakov's "positive assurance" that "his imperial majesty looked upon Afghanistan as completely outside the sphere within which Russia might be called upon to exercise her influence". But the progress of events belied these specious words; General Kaufmann, the ambitious governor-general of Turkestan, proceeded, in spite of the soft answers from St. Petersburg, to annex one piece of territory after another. At the same time he entered into frequent communications with Sher Ali; and the commissioner at Pesháwar reported that as soon as one agent was preparing to take his departure another appeared. The Indian government allowed those transactions to pass without rebuke, and thus made a change of policy more difficult. In the opinion of a later amír, Abdur Rahmán, they "blundered in allowing

and encouraging Sher Ali to communicate with the Russian government and afterwards blaming him for doing so".[1] CHAP. XIV.

At this juncture authorities of weight declared that a policy of abstention could no longer be pursued. Sir Bartle Frere, now member of the council, wrote, not for the first time, strong notes in opposition to Lord Lawrence, urging that direct relations should be established with the amír.[2] Adopting his views, Salisbury, on January 22, 1875, urged Northbrook to obtain the assent of Sher Ali to the establishment of a British agency at Herát, and possibly at Kandahar, though not at Kábul. The viceroy replied that he preferred not to put pressure on the amír, and quoted Mayo's undertaking that "no European officers should be placed as residents in his cities". The difference of opinion between Calcutta and Whitehall was therefore complete, when, in the spring of 1876, Northbrook resigned. The instructions to his successor enforced the new policy with emphasis. The amír was to receive a permanent mission, and to pay "becoming attention" to the friendly advice of British agents, who were to have free access to the frontier.

As a preliminary, Lytton requested the amír to receive a mission of compliment and courtesy, but his verbose reply virtually amounted to a refusal. A second letter, drawn up in language of greater peremptoriness, was met, after some delay, by the suggestion that the British native agent at Kábul should repair to Simla, and the viceroy accepted the proposal. The conferences resulted in October, 1876, in an undertaking on the part of the Indian government to grant the amír a treaty of friendship and alliance, and to recognise his heir, if he would agree to the residence of a British agent at Herát, "or such other parts of the frontier most exposed to danger from without as may hereafter be mutually agreed upon". Sher Ali procrastinated once more, but eventually sent an envoy to Pesháwar who entered into conferences which were prolonged from January 30 to February 19, 1877. The main question was whether the amír would receive British officers as reporters of outside events. After much fencing the Afghan rejected the condition, and the conference was broken off. Lytton re-

[1] *The Life of Abdur Rahmán, Amír of Afghanistan*, edited by Mir Munshi Sultan Mahomed Khan, ii., 235.

[2] J. Martineau, *Life and Correspondence of Sir Bartle Frere*, ii., ch. xvii.

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marked in the course of an elaborate minute that "the British government now considers itself free to withdraw from the present amír of Kábul, if further provoked by him, the support of its friendship and protection". Yet Sher Ali's reluctance to receive a British mission was genuine, and when viewed by the light of subsequent events it must be pronounced reasonable. He felt that its presence would diminish his authority, while, in the event of an outbreak, he would be unable to protect it.

England and Russia stood on the edge of war, and Afghanistan inevitably became a pawn in the great game. In July, 1878, the government of India ascertained that General Stolietev, a Russian envoy of high rank, had reached Kábul, and had been entertained with lavish honour. Russian troops were simultaneously mobilised, and it was reported that cantonments were to be established at the ferries of Khilif and Kherki on the Oxus. Sher Ali ultimately, on March 29, 1879, accepted a treaty placing Afghanistan under Russian protection.[1] Whatever the real purport of the mission may have been, it undeniably demanded a counter-demonstration on the part of England. The simplest course would have been to demand from the Russian government the withdrawal of Stolietev from Kábul; but the treaty of Berlin once signed, the British government were more anxious than ever to avoid all cause of direct conflict with Russia. Lytton, who had come to regard the amír with an animosity almost personal, preferred to coerce him. With the approval of the cabinet at home, he insisted that the amír should immediately receive a British mission, the charge of which was accepted by Sir Neville Chamberlain, commander-in-chief in Madras. Stolietev thereupon departed, after he had brought his powers of persuasion to bear upon the amír with results fatal to that embarrassed person. Sher Ali decided that the British mission should not enter Afghanistan, and Major Cavagnari, whom Chamberlain had sent on ahead, was stopped on September 21 by the Afghan officer in command at Ali Masjid, ten miles beyond the mouth of the Kháibar Pass.

The affair was at first reported as "an insolent rebuff," though subsequent explanations showed that the behaviour of

[1] The treaty, written from memory by Mirza Mahomed Khan is given, with other documents, in appendix v. of Lord Roberts's *Forty-one Years in India.*

the Afghan officer had been correct. Military men declared that acquiescence in the incident would be fatal to British prestige, and that view obtained with the London press. Lord Lawrence, old and nearly blind though he was, upheld the cause of peace. "Have not the Afghans a right," he wrote, "to resist our forcing a mission on them, bearing in mind to what such missions often lead, and what Burnes's mission in 1837 did actually bring upon them?" Lytton, however, prevailed, after some demur from the Indian secretary, Lord Cranbrook; and when an ultimatum, dated November 2, met with no reply, military operations began. While matters were still in suspense, Beaconsfield aroused public curiosity by his annual speech in the Guildhall, in which he declared that, though the government were by no means apprehensive of an invasion of India from its north-western frontier, yet that frontier was a "haphazard and not a scientific one," and stood in need of rectification. This opinion had been asserted with much vigour by the viceroy, who recommended in his despatches that, though for political reasons the Indian government should exercise influence up to the Oxus, it should regard the Hindu-Kush as the real boundary, and strengthen itself by the occupation of various points at the *débouches* of the passes.[1]

Such was the new "forward" policy, a reversal of the "close border" system maintained by Lawrence and his successors, which looked upon the Indus as the frontier. It could only be carried out, however, if Afghanistan were amicably disposed, not coerced into submission. A beginning had already been made by the occupation of Quetta in the previous year under treaty with the khan of Khelat. For the moment the new policy lent itself to the accusation that the Indian government was picking a quarrel with the amír in order to rob him of his territory. Beaconsfield described the rectification of frontier not as an object of the war, but as its probable consequence. The war was not popular, though during the brief winter session, December 5-17, the government succeeded in obtaining the endorsement of their policy from both houses, together with acquiescence in the ungracious step of throwing the expenses of the operations on the revenues of India. "May Heaven," said Gladstone, "avert a repetition of the calamity which befel our army in 1841."

[1] *Lord Lytton's Indian Administration*, pp. 243-61.

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The brilliant initial success of the military operations went far to disarm criticism. Of the three field forces, that destined for Kandahar, under the command of General Donald Stewart, crossed the Khojak range with some difficulty owing to want of roads, and entered the city without meeting resistance on January 9, 1879. Advanced positions were taken up at Girishk on the road to Herát and Khelat-i-Ghilzai on the road to Kábul. General Sir Samuel Browne, with the Pesháwar valley field force, advanced on the Kháibar, drove the enemy out of Ali Masjid and entered Jalálabád on December 20. The brunt of the fighting fell on the Kurum column under General Roberts. By a night march he turned the strong position the enemy had taken up on the Peiwar Kotál, after a frontal attack had proved impracticable, and they abandoned it in disorder. The Shutargardan Pass was found to be deserted, and thus the way to Kábul lay open. On Christmas eve General Roberts heard that Sher Ali had fled into Turkestan, and that his son Yákúb Khan had been released from prison and had assumed the government. The occupation of the Khost valley and dislodgment of the Afghan administration proved, however, a risky piece of work. Roberts needed all his skill to extricate his small force from the dangerous defiles; but reinforcements secured his position at Kurum.

Sher Ali announced his intention of laying his case before the tsar at St. Petersburg. But he had ceased to be useful and was quietly discarded. General Kaufmann advised him to return to his country and make peace with the English. His unhappy life came to a sudden end at Mazar-i-Sharif on February 21, 1879. Yákúb Khan promptly entered into a course of tangled duplicity. While he instigated the tribes to resist the infidel invaders he opened negotiations with the Indian government. To any cession of territory he appeared to be strongly opposed, but he submitted willingly to British control of his foreign relations and the appointment of a mission to Kábul. The advance of a portion of the force at Jalálabád to Gandamak hastened his proceedings. Alleging that he would not be able to protect a mission from insult at Kábul—a warning pregnant with suggestion—he repaired to the British camp, and negotiated conditions of peace with Cavagnari

The treaty of Gandamak, signed on May 26, seemed the

realisation of Lord Lytton's policy. The amír accepted the paramount control of the Indian government over his external relations, and to that end a British resident was to be established at Kábul. The "scientific frontier" was instituted by the arrangement that the Kurum, Pishin, and Sibi valleys should be assigned to the Indian government, though the surplus revenues were to go to the amír, together with complete authority in the Kháibar and Mishni Passes, and over the independent tribesmen who occupied them. In return the amír was to be supported against foreign aggression and to receive an annual subsidy of six lakhs of rupees. General Roberts in his own mind considered the negotiations premature, since the Afghans had not had the sense of defeat sufficiently driven into them, and the position of the resident was consequently insecure.[1] "They will all be murdered," exclaimed Lord Lawrence, "every one of them."[2] But politicians at home were delighted; a vexatious "little war" appeared to have been brought to a creditable conclusion. On the last day of the session Stanhope, the under-secretary for India, assured the commons that the policy lately pursued had gained for England "a friendly, an independent, and a strong Afghanistan".

The strength, independence, and friendliness were soon tested. Cavagnari was appointed "envoy and minister plenipotentiary" at the court of Kábul, and by his own wish took with him a small staff, consisting of three officials, twenty-five cavalry, and fifty infantry of the Guides. He entered the capital on July 24, and was received with cordiality by the amír: his letters to the viceroy expressed nothing but confidence, though he admitted that Yákúb Khan kept but a weak hold over the turbulent town. Early in August six mutinous regiments arrived at Kábul from Herát, and collisions occurred between them and the servants of the mission. They clamoured for pay, and on September 3, having failed to obtain it, proceeded to attack the residency, situated in the Bala-Hissar, or citadel. If the military rabble was not actually instigated by the amír, he was, as the commission of inquiry subsequently observed, "culpably indifferent to the fate of the envoy and his companions, and totally disregarded the solemn obligations

[1] *Forty-one Years in India*, ii., 171, 178.
[2] Bosworth Smith, *Life of Lord Lawrence*, ii., 649.

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he had undertaken to protect the British embassy". Caught in a trap, Cavagnari and his companions made a desperate resistance until the buildings were fired, when they rushed out and perished fighting to a man. Yákúb confirmed the news of the massacre in piteous letters, bewailing his helplessness.

The retributory measures of the Indian government were prompt. The viceroy telegraphed orders to General Massy to seize the Shutargardan, and General Stewart at once reoccupied Kandahar. General Roberts was despatched from Simla to take Kábul with a force of 5,000 men of all arms. In spite of want of transport and inadequate supplies, he pushed forward, and crossed the Shutargardan into Kushi with but little opposition. Then the amír arrived, almost a fugitive, and proved a source of the gravest anxiety to the general, as he was constantly sending messages, and no doubt supplying his friends with information. Attacks on outposts were preliminary to a sharp action near Charasia, about ten miles from Kábul, on October 5, where large masses of the enemy were dislodged from the heights by General Baker, the 72nd regiment greatly distinguishing itself by taking an almost inaccessible position, and the rout was completed by a charge of the 92nd Highlanders, led by Major (afterwards Sir George) White, who twenty years later became known all the world over as the defender of Ladysmith. The enemy evacuated the Bala-Hissar and the strongly fortified cantonments at Sherpur, and leaving twelve guns behind them, slipped off through the night in the direction of Ghazni. General Roberts made his formal entry into Kábul on the 10th, and placed the city under martial law. Yákúb Khan unexpectedly abdicated and went into honourable captivity in India. The commission of inquiry into the massacre of the mission sentenced eighty-seven persons to be executed for complicity in that crime, or for subsequent disturbances of the peace.

Lytton was anxious to turn the situation thus created to account by the dismemberment of Afghanistan. The governor of Kandahar, he thought, should have under his authority "as large a portion of Western Afghanistan as that authority was competent to cover, with a British cantonment at Pishin, close enough always to support or control his government whenever necessary". Kábul should be reduced in importance to the

utmost; controlled by a garrison at some point beyond the Shutargardan and handed over to "the most competent and least untrustworthy sirdar Roberts could recommend". The tribes with whom we had long-standing scores were to be "well thrashed".[1] With this policy the cabinet in the main concurred. It was premature. Roberts, who had found it expedient to retire to Sherpur—explosions of gunpowder in the Bala-Hissar suggesting treachery—was confronted by a general rising, fomented by the mullahs. He sent out two columns under Macpherson and Baker to deal with the enemy, but, owing to a misunderstanding of orders, a small force under Massy which should have co-operated with the first body fell across the main strength of the Afghans in the Chardeh valley and was repulsed with a temporary loss of guns on December 11. Flushed with success, the sirdar, Mahomed Jan, took up a position on the Takt-i-Shah, from which he had to be driven after making a determined stand, and next, by sheer weight of numbers, forced General Roberts to withdraw his isolated posts within the walls of Sherpur. An attack on the 23rd, however, was not resolutely pushed; it failed, and the arrival of reinforcements was followed by the dissolution of Mahomed Jan's confederacy.

Still the crisis had been extreme. Communications with India had been interrupted; the garrison in the Shutargardan was perforce withdrawn after it had been attacked again and again; no help could come from Kandahar where Stewart expected the advance of a hostile army under Ayúb Khan, the brother of Yákúb, from Herát. A relief column from Jugdalluk eventually reached Kábul, to find that Roberts had saved the situation by his own resourcefulness. Whatever may be thought of the policy which rendered the campaign necessary, the operations themselves had been highly creditable to the British and Indian soldiery. The field forces were admirably supported by the Indian government. The indefatigable Temple pushed forward the construction of a railway from Sakkar on the banks of the Indus to Sibi at the foot of the Bolan Pass. Thanks to the skill and energy of the chief engineer, Colonel Lindsay, it was begun on October 5, 1879, and opened on January 14, 1880, the distance being 133½ miles, showing a daily average of 1⅓

[1] *Lord Lytton's Indian Administration*, pp. 381-84.

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miles. With the assistance of Sir Robert Sandeman, a warden of the marches, who had already obtained a remarkable influence over the turbulent tribes of Baluchistan, surveys were also made over the passes in view of an extension of the line to Pishin and eventually to Kandahar. But on the advent of the liberal government to office the works were abruptly suspended.

To complete the pacification of Northern Afghanistan, Stewart's division advanced from Kandahar on March 30, leaving sirdar Sher Ali Khan as independent and hereditary ruler of that city. He fought a successful engagement at Ahmed Kel on the way, and a force sent out to meet him with supplies defeated the Logari tribe in a second battle of Charasia on April 25. On May 5, Sir Donald, as he had become, reached Kábul, and, as senior officer, took command of a force now amounting to nearly 14,000 men and thirty-eight guns with 12,500 followers, while 15,000 men and thirty guns were on the Kháibar line under the command of General Bright. Columns were to march through the country, and, after the tribes had been reduced to reason, Northern Afghanistan was to be evacuated. A military disaster and the change of government in England upset this leisurely policy. Perceiving that a general election could not long be postponed, the viceroy had been anxiously seeking a candidate for the *masnad* of Kábul. The restoration of Yákúb Khan was regarded by him as out of the question; no local sirdar possessed sufficient influence; there remained Abdur Rahmán Khan, a cousin of Sher Ali, who had been driven out of Afghanistan by that amír, and had latterly been a pensioner of Russia at Samarkand. Communications were established with him, accordingly, through his relatives at Kandahar, and Lepel Griffin, secretary to the Punjab government, went up to Kábul as chief of the political staff.

In his new candidate for the troubled Afghan throne the viceroy had no great confidence: perhaps perceiving that the energy of character which rendered the exiled prince a suitable ruler of a disturbed country might also seriously interfere with his own policy of Afghan vassalage and subordination to India. Abdur Rahmán, as subsequent events proved, had no mind to play the part of puppet sovereign for the benefit either of England or of Russia. Relentless and unscrupulous in the pursuit of his aims, he never hesitated to take life or inflict suffering. But

he had a good deal of sagacity; he was acute enough to understand the dangers which menaced the semi-barbarous mountain-state from without and within; and he knew how to govern in the sense in which government was understood by the Afghan clansmen. With adequate resources and a free hand—freely sprinkled with blood—he could keep Afghanistan quiet, and perhaps hold it independent of both the great powers. Though he had lived under Russian patronage he came to the conclusion that he had most to gain and least to fear from England. At the beginning of 1880 Abdur Rahmán made a bold bid for fortune. Borrowing £2,000 from merchants, he obtained Kaufmann's leave to proceed to Afghanistan. He told the tribesmen, on his arrival at the frontier, that he would take them all with him to fight against the British.[1] At the same time he entered into negotiations with Griffin, expressing from the first his strong dislike to the separation of Kandahar from Kábul. The affair had not advanced beyond generalities when, coincidently with the arrival of Stewart at the Afghan capital, came the change of administration in England, and the resignation of Lytton, whose policy had been trenchantly attacked, amongst others by Lord Hartington, the new secretary for India. "If the new ministry," wrote Lytton, by way of valedictory remarks to Lord Cranbrook, "breaks the pledges we have given to Sher Ali Khan or swallows the bait, likely to be laid for it by Abdur Rahmán, of a neutralised Afghanistan under joint guarantees, it will be an evil day for India and for England too."[2]

The colonial policy of the Beaconsfield administration made a modest beginning by the annexation of the Fiji Islands to the British empire in 1874. This step was taken in consequence of the urgent representations of the Australian colonies, in the report of a commission sent out by Lord Kimberley. The paramount chief, Thakombau, had fallen into the clutches of white adventurers, who had so successfully indoctrinated him with the maxims of high finance that in less than two years he had contracted a national debt of £87,000. Disorder flourished, and with it a possibility that, if Great Britain did not secure the group, the United States might do so in the interests of

[1] *The Life of Abdur Rahmán*, ii., 173.
[2] *Lord Lytton's Administration*, p. 420.

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American concessionaires. Lord Carnarvon therefore instructed Sir Hercules Robinson, the governor of New South Wales, to take over the islands pending the arrival of the newly appointed governor, Sir William Hamilton Gordon (afterwards Lord Stanmore). The chiefs readily acquiesced, but the first experiences of British rule were melancholy, for an epidemic of measles carried off 50,000, a third of the population. The terror-stricken natives in the cannibal country rose, but were reduced by a local force raised by the governor. The Australians, already apprehensive of acquisitions by foreign powers in their waters, warmly approved of the annexation of Fiji.

Lord Carnarvon, aided by the able governor-general of Canada, Lord Dufferin, kept the dominion together by dissuading British Columbia against seceding from the federation. His well-meant attempts to carry out a like policy in South Africa were destined to miscarry. He sent Sir Bartle Frere to the Cape in October, 1876, nominally as governor and high commissioner, but really as the statesman most capable of carrying a scheme of federation into effect. Unfortunately Carnarvon had already prejudiced the question by drawing up a cut-and-dried plan in Downing Street, which the Cape house of assembly repudiated, and by sending out James Anthony Froude, the historian, on a kind of missionary tour in South Africa. Froude, a brilliant writer and an injudicious speaker, instead of conciliating South African opinion in favour of the project, only affronted and bewildered it. The high commissioner had to begin afresh, and while he was endeavouring to gain the support of the Cape ministry Sir Theophilus Shepstone complicated the situation by abruptly annexing the Transvaal.

That republic had not flourished during its period of independence under the Sand River convention of 1852. A decision in its favour was made, indeed, in 1875 when the president of the French republic, Marshal MacMahon, published his award as to the ownership of Delagoa Bay. This valuable harbour, the only one of the first class between Natal and Zanzibar, had for years been in dispute between the Portuguese, who had established a factory at Lorenzo Marquez, and the British. President MacMahon gave his verdict in favour of the weaker power, and thus secured for the Boers complaisant neighbours,

who were willing to give them a right of way to the sea. But the Transvaal republic was bankrupt; it was lawless; it was frequently at war with the natives, and was sometimes beaten by them, notably by a chief called Secocoeni. Carnarvon felt that such anarchy could not be tolerated close to a British frontier, and he sent out Mr. Shepstone, the representative of Natal at a conference held in London on South African affairs, to sound President Burgers on the question of confederation, and to invite the Boers to come under the British flag. Shepstone, without troubling himself to ascertain the real drift of Dutch opinion, proclaimed the annexation of the Transvaal to the British empire on March 12, 1877. The volksraad forced President Burgers to resign, and a deputation of protest, consisting of Paul Krüger and Jorissen, went to England. They were told by Carnarvon that the act was irrevocable, but that if they remained loyal free institutions should be bestowed upon their fellow-countrymen. No attempt was made to carry that promise into effect, and the Boers in sullen resentment bided their time.

The annexation of the Transvaal formed the pretext in 1877 for the obstruction of a South African federation bill in the commons, after it had passed the lords with general approval. Avowedly experimental, it provided that the Cape, Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange Free State should form a voluntary union, and frame their own constitution under a double-chamber system. A small band of radicals, led by Fawcett and Mr. Leonard Courtney, opposed it as foredoomed to failure in consequence of the resentment aroused by the annexation of the Transvaal, and their opposition forwarded the tactics of the Irish, who undisguisedly used the question as a weapon for discrediting the house of commons. In South Africa the scheme remained a dead letter, for a wave of unrest came over the natives, and constitution-making gave place to military expeditions. Risings of the Kaffir tribes, the Galekas and Gaikas, were suppressed without difficulty, but at the cost of much friction between Frere and the Cape government. The Cape ministry headed by Molteno, the premier, declined to submit the colonial forces to imperial military control, and refused to countenance reinforcements from England on the ground that they were unsuited to Kaffir warfare. After an

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unedifying wrangle, Frere dismissed them and summoned to his aid a more practicable premier in Gordon Sprigg.[1]

The annexation of the Transvaal had saved the Boers from annihilation at the hands of the Zulus. Cetywayo, the chief or king of these warlike tribesmen, regarded the passing of his hereditary enemies under British protection with deep resentment. Years of despotic rule had brutalised a disposition never too urbane. He massacred Christian converts and young warriors who defied his military system by marrying without his leave before they had "washed their spears". When Sir Henry Bulwer, the governor of Natal, remonstrated with him on his cruelties, the haughty barbarian retorted: "The governor of Natal and I are equal; he is governor of Natal and I am governor here". That assumption the colonists had been inclined to accept, regarding Cetywayo as useful to play off against the Boers, "as one might pet a tame wolf," wrote Frere, "who only devoured one's neighbours' sheep".[2] Colenso, the bishop of Natal, too, had persuaded himself that Cetywayo was unjustly aspersed, and eagerly circulated the Zulu chief's own version of his grievances. In September, 1878, Frere wrote to Sir Michael Hicks Beach, Lord Carnarvon's successor at the colonial office, urging that strong measures should be taken to put an end to Zulu pretensions. The capture of some fugitive natives on British territory and their subsequent slaughter, a raid over the Transvaal border, and an assault on a British surveyor, brought matters to a head. A commission went to Tugela Drift to announce an award, mainly in Cetywayo's favour, on a strip of territory in dispute between him and the Boers. At the same time he was presented with an ultimatum demanding, in addition to fines of cattle and the surrender of the murderers of the native refugees, the reform of the bloodthirsty Zulu military system. He was also required to accept a British resident who was to be "the eyes, ears, and mouth of Queen Victoria's government". Cetywayo maintained a sullen silence, and on January 10, 1879, the British troops crossed the Zulu border.

The colonial secretary had approved of Frere's proceedings up to a certain point. But the Afghan war had strained

[1] The case for Molteno is put with filial loyalty by Mr. P. A. Molteno in the *Life and Times of Sir J. C. Molteno*, vol. ii., ch. xxviii. and xxix.

[2] Martineau, *Life of Sir Bartle Frere*, ii., 231.

British military resources; he doubted if more troops could be spared, and on October 12, and later, definitely refused reinforcements. His first and second messages ought, perhaps, to have taught Frere the necessity of caution; his last did not reach him until after the delivery of the ultimatum. On November 21 the ministers changed their mind, and promised reinforcements, but only "to afford such protection as may be necessary at this juncture to the lives and property of the colonists". Had all gone well, Frere would have won praise and rewards, despite the fact that the government deprecated a Zulu war in addition to its other troubles. But things went very badly indeed at the outset. The campaign began with one of those unexpected and startling disasters which fill so large a space in the South African record. The British force, 5,500 British soldiers of all arms and a number of volunteers and native levies, was adequate to the enterprise before it; but the general, Lord Chelmsford, made the fatal mistake of holding a resolute enemy, fighting on his own ground, too cheaply. Of the four columns converging on the king's kraal at Ulundi, that under his immediate control marched out of Isandhlwana camp on January 22 to meet a Zulu impi, reported to be large. It encountered only a small body which was easily repulsed. The real strength of the Zulus lay close to the camp, where Colonel Pulleine was in command, while the native levies and colonial volunteers were under the orders of Colonel Durnford. Portions of this force were rashly detached to attack the enemy; overwhelmed, they returned in confusion; the right horn of the impi surged into the camp and cut off the British regulars from their reserves of ammunition. They fought in small groups, until the showers of assegais laid them low; out of six companies of the 24th regiment, only six men survived. The Zulus, though their losses had been heavy, pressed on to the border, but Lieutenants Chard and Bromhead with eighty men of the 24th held their barricade of bags and biscuit tins at Rorke's drift against 4,000 savage warriors through the night, and were relieved next morning by Chelmsford's jaded force.

Panic seized upon Natal, while in England there was loud outcry against Chelmsford. But the Zulus refrained from invading the colony, being severely galled by Colonel Pearson, who after a successful engagement had entrenched himself at

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Ekowe, and by Colonel (afterwards Field-Marshal Sir Evelyn) Wood, who, operating from the Transvaal with the assistance of a Boer contingent, gained some brilliant advantages. Pearson was relieved, and on April 15 Chelmsford began afresh the invasion of Zululand at the head of 20,000 British troops and 4,500 colonials. As he slowly advanced, Prince Louis Napoleon, the son of the late Emperor of the French, who had been allowed to join the British force as a volunteer, was surprised and killed, and fresh odium fell upon the unfortunate general. But at length, on July 3, the Zulus were defeated with great slaughter at Ulundi; Cetywayo was hunted down and captured, and the war came to an end.

During the fortnight of suspense after Isandhlwana the calm bearing of Frere had put heart into Natal. He had, at some risk to his life, gone up into the Transvaal, and told the Boers, who had lately sent a second mission of remonstrance to England, consisting of Krüger, Joubert, and Dutoit, that the annexation was irrevocable, though he consented to forward a memorial of remonstrance to the crown. But the liberal press, with a certain amount of support from conservative journals, demanded that he should be summoned to account for the Zulu war. He was upheld, it is said, by Beaconsfield, while the majority of the cabinet were inclined to recall him.[1] As a compromise Sir Michael Hicks Beach sent a despatch, in which Frere was censured for acting without the approval of the government and without that "urgent necessity for immediate action which alone could justify you for taking, without their full knowledge and sanction, a course almost certain to result in a war, which, as I had previously impressed upon you, every effort should have been used to avoid. Nevertheless," he continued, "the government have no desire to withdraw, in the present crisis of affairs, the confidence hitherto reposed in you." Frere accepted the rebuke, in deference to the representations of his friends, Gordon Sprigg, the premier of Cape Colony, among them. But he sent a passionate protest to the colonial secretary. "Unless my countrymen are much changed," he wrote, "they will some day do me justice. I shall not leave a name to be permanently dishonoured. Meanwhile many thousand

[1] Martineau, *Sir Bartle Frere*, ii., 314.

colonists and hundreds of thousands of native subjects will feel secure in the queen's dominions who could not sleep in safety before the war." He had good reason for believing that he had satisfied colonial opinion. Town after town in South Africa sent him addresses of confidence, and his journey to the Cape was a triumphal progress.

But from home a fresh humiliation had been prepared for him. On June 14 Frere was informed by cable that Sir Garnet Wolseley, who had gone out to supersede Chelmsford, was also for the time being to replace himself as high commissioner of the Transvaal, Natal, and the adjoining portion of South Africa. Wolseley hastily appointed thirteen independent kinglets for Zululand, some of them men of no authority, with a resident, "the eyes and the ears of the British government," who was expressly debarred from any active interference. He then went to the Transvaal, where he made speeches declaring the annexation to be irrevocable. At Standerton he told the people that the Vaal would flow backward through the Draakensberg before the British would be withdrawn from the territory. But hardly had Sir Garnet been succeeded as high commissioner of South-East Africa by Sir George Colley when Zululand drifted into anarchy. The kinglets, one of whom was a renegade Englishman John Dunn, promptly began to fight among themselves. The remainder of the unedifying story of Zululand may be very briefly told. The partition having clearly proved a failure, an agitation was set up in England for the "restoration" of Cetywayo. The Gladstone ministry accepted the expedient. Cetywayo, after a visit to England, and a mild course of petting and preaching, which was supposed to have effected his moral regeneration, was sent back to play the part of enlightened despot over his disorganised savages. In January, 1883, he was reinstated, under many restrictions, as paramount chief of the Zulus. But he had lost all his authority with his former subjects and was driven out and died in the bush on February 8, 1884. His son, Dinizulu, invited the Boers to his aid. They came and helped themselves to a handsome slice of territory, under the name of the New Republic, eventually incorporated with the Transvaal in August, 1886. The greater part of their acquisition was recognised by the Imperial government; what was left of Zululand was placed under British

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protection on June 21, 1887, and the control of the district vested in the Natal administration. The Beaconsfield cabinet had not been fortunate in its South African policy; and consequences, more serious than the break-up of Zululand, were speedily to ensue from the series of miscalculations and mistakes which had been made in connexion with the affairs of the Transvaal.

CHAPTER XV.

THE SECOND GLADSTONE ADMINISTRATION.—I.

GLADSTONE'S resumption of the premiership had been inevitable since the first Midlothian campaign. He had caught the popular ear; and, though he affected to regard Granville as leader of the liberal party, he made himself inevitable as prime minister by causing it to be known that he would accept no secondary position, such as the chancellorship of the exchequer. On April 22 the queen summoned Lord Hartington to Windsor. He consulted Gladstone in the evening, and ascertained that he would not take subordinate office. Supplied with this information, the queen saw Granville and Hartington together, and they urged her to offer the premiership to Gladstone.[1] He had an audience the next day, and undertook to form an administration, after the queen had rebuked him for his language in Midlothian. "But you will have to bear the consequences," she said. The chief appointments went to aristocratic whigs, Gladstone assuming the chancellorship of the exchequer as well as the first lordship of the treasury. Lord Granville was foreign secretary; Lord Hartington, secretary for India; Lord Kimberley, colonial secretary; Earl Spencer, lord president of the council; the Duke of Argyll, lord privy seal. Lord Selborne returned to the woolsack, and Childers became secretary for war. Two radicals who had fallen out of touch with their party were admitted to the cabinet, Bright, as chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, and Forster, as Irish secretary. Sir Charles Dilke refused other than a subordinate post, unless either he or Mr. Chamberlain was admitted to the cabinet. In the end Mr. Chamberlain entered that body as president of the board of trade. In point of individual ability the government commanded respect, but it contained incongruous elements.

[1] Fitzmaurice, *Granville*, ii., 193.

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Misfortune dogged the footsteps of the government from the outset. Sir William Harcourt, the home secretary, was defeated at Oxford on offering himself for re-election, and quickly found refuge at Derby. In the very first days of the session, Charles Bradlaugh, the elect of Northampton, an atheist lecturer and Malthusian pamphleteer, who was to vex the ministry to the end, claimed to make an affirmation instead of taking the oath of allegiance. The little band of active and eager tories who led the opposition on this occasion soon became known as the fourth party, and consisted of Lord Randolph Churchill, Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, and Mr. Gorst, with occasional assistance from Lord Salisbury's nephew, Mr. A. J. Balfour. They enjoyed the amused patronage of Beaconsfield, who hinted to them that they need not be too scrupulous about obeying their leader, Sir Stafford Northcote, but that an open rupture with him would be most disastrous.[1] The first part of this injunction they faithfully followed, and it was at their incitement that the house plunged into warm debates. It decided by 275 to 230 that Bradlaugh should not be permitted either to affirm, or, having no religious faith, to swear. Gladstone was adverse to this decision and declined to advise the house further; but on July 1 he disposed of the question by a resolution that any person claiming to make an affirmation instead of taking the oath should be allowed to do so, subject to any liability by statute.

Though much damaged by this incident, the government could point to an active and industrious session. Gladstone produced a popular supplementary budget, converting the malt tax into a beer duty, much to the satisfaction of the agricultural interest. The farmers were also gratified by a bill introduced by the home secretary allowing occupiers of land to kill ground game equally with their landlords, any agreements to the contrary notwithstanding. Lord Redesdale having moved the rejection of the measure, Beaconsfield dissuaded the lords from such a course on the sagacious ground that, as collisions between the two chambers were bound to be frequent, it was important that they should only occur on questions of national consequence. The burials act of this session settled a controversy

[1] Winston Churchill, *Life of Lord Randolph Churchill*, i., 156.

of long standing by authorising interment in churchyards or graveyards, either without any religious service or with such Christian and orderly service as the persons responsible might think fit. The employers' liability bill was the first of many attempts to compensate workmen for injuries inflicted by machinery. Under the rigid legal doctrine of "common employment" they could obtain no redress unless they could prove negligence on the part of the masters themselves The compromise adopted by the government extended the employer's liability to persons to whom he had delegated superintendence and made him responsible for any act or omission due to his rules and by-laws. The bill received much benevolent attention from the fourth party, who boldly took up the cause of the artisans.

The dissolution had occurred at such a date that but a few weeks remained for the renewal of the Irish peace preservation act, and the cabinet, though not without some misgiving, determined on the experiment of trying to govern Ireland by the ordinary law. But Parnell was far from conciliated, and the Irish members introduced a bill of their own by which evicted tenants were to receive compensation. Forster tried to meet them by appointing a commission to inquire into the working of the land act of 1870, and by hastily adopting the principle of the home rulers' measure in a clause introduced into a new relief of distress bill, amending that of the previous session. The compensation for disturbance bill eventually became a separate measure, and was produced for second reading on June 25. Its operation was limited to the end of 1881, and it endeavoured to draw a distinction between tenants who would not and those who could not pay rent owing to bad harvests. Denounced by Randolph Churchill as the first step in a social war, it was received with cold hostility by Parnell on the score of its inadequacy. Though the second reading was carried by 295 to 217, some fifty liberals abstained, twenty voted against the bill, and sixteen malcontents were in the minority on the third reading. The bill after a two nights' debate in the upper house was thrown out by an overwhelming majority of 282 to 51. The result bitterly disappointed Forster, who uttered some angry remarks on the house of lords when they proceeded further to reject an Irish registration bill. Their conduct did

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not, however, in the opinion of the lord chancellor, materially affect an agrarian agitation which had already assumed portentous proportions.[1]

Before parliament rose, on September 7, the state of Ireland had become highly dangerous. A party of Fenians raided the *Juno* in Cork harbour and carried off forty cases of firearms. After the house had risen, Parnell flung himself furiously into the agitation. Speaking at Ennis on September 19 he enunciated the doctrine that if a tenant took a farm from which his neighbour had been evicted he must be "isolated from his kind as if he were a leper of old". A word was added to the English language from the name of the first victim of the process, Captain Boycott. Parnell made no attempt to conceal his policy of using the agitation sustained by the land league on American dollars as means to an end. "I would not have taken off my coat and gone to this work," said he, "if I had not known that we were laying the foundation in this movement for the regeneration of our legislative independence." Earl Cowper, the lord-lieutenant, and Forster had by this time reached the conclusion that, in the end, they must ask for extraordinary powers. They tried, however, in the first instance the effect of trial by jury. On November 2, an information was laid against the land league for conspiracy. Parnell abated nothing in his demand for national independence. He, and the other defendants, who included Mr. John Dillon and Biggar, were placed on their trial before Mr. Justice Fitzgerald and after a twenty days' hearing the foreman made the droll declaration: "We are unanimous that we cannot agree". The jury were accordingly discharged. But before the trials Cowper and Forster had persuaded the cabinet that the Habeas Corpus Act must be suspended. They encountered strong opposition from Mr. Chamberlain and Bright, who succeeded in thwarting the chief secretary's wish that parliament should be summoned for December.

Gladstone reaped one consequence of his Midlothian indiscretions when he was taken to task by the Austrian minister, Count Karolyi, for his slighting remarks on the dual monarchy and its position in Eastern Europe. Not only had he contrived

[1] Selborne's *Memorials*, pt. ii., ii., 13.

to offend the house of Hapsburg but that of Hohenzollern as well, for Bismarck, still chafing under Russian ascendancy, had won over the Emperor William and had negotiated on October 7, 1879, a defensive alliance between Austria and Germany. An unqualified disavowal of "language painful and wounding in character" did away with the immediate offence to Austria, but hardly added to the dignity of the government. Ministers, therefore, chose an unfortunate moment for appealing to the concert of Europe to secure, as the queen's speech phrased it, the early and complete fulfilment of the treaty of Berlin. Goschen was sent out to Constantinople on a special mission, and at the instance of the British government the powers presented an identic note to the Porte pressing for the fulfilment of its promises. On June 16, 1880, a conference met at Berlin, and, despite the indifference of Germany and the vacillation of France, it unanimously recommended a new and extended frontier for Greece and the substitution of Dulcigno for the district conveyed to the Montenegrins under the treaty of Berlin. The Porte raised objection after objection, until by September the resources of diplomacy were exhausted.

The British government hesitated long between the seizure of Smyrna, of Salonica or of a Cretan harbour, and finally decided on the first procedure, the other powers declining to take an active part. Meanwhile the joint fleet of the signatory powers had assembled at Gravosa on September 14, under the command of Sir Beauchamp Seymour. The situation behind this formidable pretence was ridiculous, more especially as of the two British ministers who supervised it during the recess, Gladstone was for going on as the mandatory of Europe, and Granville for "washing our hands of the whole thing".[1] A sudden collapse of the sultan's nerves prevented the disruption of the concert. In November Dulcigno was peacefully ceded to the Montenegrins, and in the following April, when Bismarck was induced to take the lead, the Greeks obtained the whole of Thessaly and part of Epirus, the coveted fortresses of Janina and Metzovo remaining in Turkish hands.

Among the questions raised unofficially at the Berlin congress of 1878 were those of Egypt and Tunis. Bismarck appears

[1] Fitzmaurice, *Granville*, ii., 223.

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to have invited Beaconsfield to occupy the Nile valley, but the British plenipotentiary either made no reply or declined the proposal.[1] The German chancellor also suggested to the representatives of France that their foreign office might do well to take Tunis if England followed suit by occupying Egypt. Salisbury was even more explicit; he told M. Waddington on July, 1878, that he regarded the extension of French influence over Tunis as a natural development, and that the queen's government accepted the consequences beforehand. Though at first inclined to resist the French claims, more especially because the harbour of Biserta was regarded as likely to neutralise Malta, Granville ended by taking up much the same line. In spite of constant disavowals the French government was rapidly maturing its plans. A perhaps mythical invasion of Algeria by the Kroumir tribe was made a pretext for wringing a treaty from the bey in May, 1881, which virtually placed the country under French protection. Confronted by the accomplished fact, Granville could only accept an illusory promise that Biserta should never be fortified, and warn the French off Tripoli. The Italian government, on the other hand, annoyed by the increase of French influence in North Africa, accepted Bismarck's invitation and joined the alliance of Germany and Austria on May 20, 1882, thereby establishing the Triple Alliance, which maintained an equilibrium in Europe until the end of the century and beyond it.

The most untoward of Gladstone's impetuous utterances at Midlothian concerned the Transvaal. "If Cyprus and the Transvaal," he exclaimed during his second campaign, "were as valuable as they are valueless, I would repudiate them because they are obtained by means dishonourable to the character of the country." He subsequently explained that he had used the word "repudiate" in the sense of dislike. The Boer leaders, at any rate, did not so understand him, and publicly thanked him for his language. On taking office he and his colleagues determined, much to the disgust of Mr. Leonard Courtney and other radicals, not to recall Sir Bartle Frere, who was strongly supported by the queen, because there was still a prospect of carrying federation in South Africa. Urged by that vigorous

[1] Bismarck denied the fact publicly in 1885; but see Blowitz, *Memoirs*, p. 166.

administrator to declare their policy, Lord Kimberley replied by telegram on May 12, 1880, that the sovereignty of the queen over the Transvaal could not be relinquished, and that he hoped for the speedy accomplishment of federation, which would enable free institutions, as already proposed, to be granted to Natal and the Transvaal. On June 3 Gladstone was confronted by a memorial signed by ninety liberal members, setting forth that the recall of Frere would conduce to the unity of the party. On August 1 Frere was superseded by telegram on the ground that the action of the Cape parliament, which had dropped the idea of federation, had removed the special reason for his continuance in office.

Within the Transvaal the Boer leaders prepared for armed rebellion. The collection of taxes was violently resisted, and the speaking at mass meetings assumed a very warlike tone. Still Sir Owen Lanyon, the administrator of the Transvaal, assured Kimberley, so late as the end of November, that no serious trouble would arise. Sir George Colley, who had succeeded Wolseley as governor of Natal and high commissioner for South-East Africa, had recommended a reduction of the garrisons. On December 13 a mass meeting held at Paardekraal demanded the restoration of the republic under a British protectorate. A provincial government was formed, consisting of Krüger, Pretorius, and General Joubert, and on the 16th, "Dingaan's day," the national flag was hoisted at Heidelberg. Armed collision promptly followed. A British officer and some fifty men had to capitulate at Potchefstroom after a spirited defence of the court-house; and all hope of a peaceful accommodation vanished when Colonel Anstruther, while marching to Pretoria from Lydenberg with 250 men of the 94th regiment, was caught at Bronkerspruit on December 20, and compelled to surrender, after most of his force had been disabled by a deadly fire and he himself had been mortally wounded. The affair rudely dispelled the idea that the Boers would never fight. By the end of the year 1880 the British garrisons were beleaguered, while the main Boer commando, penetrating into Natal territory, had occupied Lang's Nek and sent out scouts in the direction of Newcastle.

The Boers had chosen their opportunity with astuteness. The fighting strength of the English colonists in South Africa

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had been drawn off to Basutoland, where the natives had risen and were carrying on a desultory warfare with some tactical skill. But public opinion in England had been much incensed by the irregular manner in which the Boers had opened hostilities and by various stories of military atrocities. To all appearance the British government sympathised with the national feeling, and the queen's speech of January 7, 1881, dwelt upon the duty of taking military measures. But Gladstone and his colleagues were attempting to combine two incompatibles, war and negotiation. Sincerely alarmed by a wave of excitement which swept over the entire Dutch population, Brand, the president of the Orange Free State, was exerting himself to bring about a settlement. So far back as December 5 he had telegraphed to the acting governor at the Cape, suggesting that a commissioner should be sent up to the Transvaal to ascertain the real feeling with regard to annexation. The idea was not accepted, but the British government became entangled in a premature correspondence, in which the Cape government also took part, while Colley was kept in ignorance.

Thus the general on the spot found that he had been allowed to drift into a campaign, with very inadequate resources at his disposal. The true fighting value of the armed farmers of the veldt was not in the least appreciated, nor was it suspected that these men, trained to the saddle and the rifle from boyhood, were capable of becoming the finest mounted infantry in the world; but Colley, though he underrated the task before him, knew well that it was formidable. He was deeply sensible of the inability of the Potchefstroom garrison—only 120 men, and those ill-supplied with provisions—to hold out beyond the middle of February. He resolved, therefore, to advance without waiting for reinforcements with a weak "scratch" column of 1,200 men.[1] Having concentrated at Newcastle, he formed an entrenched camp at Mount Prospect, four miles south of Lang's Nek. Thence, on January 28, he marched to attack the Boers, who were strongly posted, and suffered a severe repulse. He refrained from risking the bad moral effect of a retirement to Newcastle, and instead made a reconnaissance in force on February 8 to keep his communications open. He was

[1] Sir W. F. Butler, *The Life of Sir G. Pomeroy Colley*, p. 282.

caught in an exposed position beyond the Ingogo river, and returned to camp with the loss of six officers and sixty-two men killed and sixty-four men wounded.

He had lost practically the whole of his staff in these two actions, which had gravely demoralised his troops. But reinforcements arrived at Newcastle under Sir Evelyn Wood, the second in command, and the military position improved. Meanwhile the *pourparlers* continued, and on January 10 Kimberley assured President Brand that, provided only the Boers desisted from their armed opposition to the queen's authority, the British government did not despair of making a satisfactory arrangement. He insisted on the cessation of armed resistance as a preliminary; but at that point the battle of Lang's Nek brought the negotiations to a temporary close. They were resumed, in another form, between Brand and Colley, who now became aware for the first time of the telegrams from the colonial office. It was only through Evelyn Wood that Colley learnt on what lines the government intended to settle the Transvaal. The purely Dutch districts were to be left independent, but the native territories were to be brought under British rule. Colley warned the colonial secretary that such a division would be "open to the gravest inconveniences," and he determined to resign rather than carry it out.[1] On the 21st, in pursuance of instructions from the colonial office, he wrote to Krüger that he would agree to a suspension of hostilities if those conditions were accepted within forty-eight hours, but his private letters show that he sent the message with the utmost distaste.

The knowledge that he might have to take a hand in an unworkable bargain may have prompted Colley in his resolution to put everything to the touch; but the determinant factor was the entrenchment which Boer spades were raising on Lang's Nek. He decided to seize the precipitous and conical mass, known as Majuba Hill, which dominated the position. A column consisting of seven companies of infantry and a detachment of the naval brigade, 554 rifles in all, with three days' full rations, marched out on the night of February 27. Three companies were stationed as connecting links with the camp, while the

[1] Butler, *Life of Colley*, pp. 338-39.

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remainder clambered to the crest. The ascent was successfully accomplished; but, as the men were tired, no adequate defences were prepared. About sunrise the Boers discovered their enemy. An attacking party under Commandant Smidt advanced to the mountain; divided into two bodies, and, covered by a steady rifle fire, they stole quietly over the dead ground under the lower curve of the hill and worked their way upwards. For hours the shooting continued without material advantage on either side. But towards noon a handful of Highlanders, who were occupying an exposed position were driven back, and the reserves, when called up into the fighting line, wavered. Supported by a galling fire, Smidt and his picked men rushed the summit, shot down the advance body, and drove the rest into the basin within the circular ridge, where they broke and fled down the slopes, the Boers slaughtering them as they ran. Colley and another officer fell with their faces to the foe. With hardly a single casualty on their side, the Boers had accounted for twenty officers and 266 men, killed, wounded, or prisoners.

Measured by the numbers engaged, Majuba was little more than a skirmish; judged by its effects, immediate and remote, it almost deserves to be called one of the great battles of history. The Transvaal imbroglio had been followed with a very languid interest in the United Kingdom, where many people scarcely grasped the fact that the country was at war with the Boers till they suddenly learned that a British column had been annihilated and a British general killed. Public opinion, greatly excited, called angrily for retribution. At first the government made feverish preparations for retrieving the disaster. Sir Frederick Roberts was appointed to succeed Colley, and hurried out to the Cape with reinforcements. Then ministers began to waver, and Gladstone suggested that to punish the Boers merely in revenge for Majuba would be "blood-guiltiness". Sir Evelyn Wood was instructed to take up the negotiations at the point where his predecessor had left them. Meeting Joubert half-way between their respective lines, he arranged, on March 6, an eight days' armistice. The Boers kept the conditions, except in the case of Potchefstroom, where Commandant Cronje disregarded Joubert's orders. After suffering much privation the gallant little garrison surrendered on the 20th. Wood subsequently insisted on a restoration of arms and re-occupied the

place *pro formâ*. Prolongations of the armistice rapidly brought peace within sight. Brand came forward again as mediator, and Krüger appeared upon the scene. The terms, arranged on the previous day, were communicated to both houses of parliament on the 21st. The Boers were to acknowledge the suzerainty of the queen over the Transvaal, but were to retain the right of complete internal self-government.

These conditions produced profound dissatisfaction in South Africa, where the Dutch element chafed at the name of independence being withheld after the fact had been conceded, while the English inhabitants of the Transvaal, who had suffered much during the war, bitterly resented their abandonment, and found many sympathisers, particularly in Natal. The Cape house of assembly, under the influence of the newly formed Afrikander Bond, however, passed a perfunctory resolution expressing satisfaction at the restoration of peace. At home deep indignation arose against an arrangement which wore all the appearance of a surrender and possessed but few elements of permanence. In the house of lords, Cairns, in the finest speech of his life, arraigned the government for retreating from one position after another, for using the ambiguous word "suzerainty," which the English people would be told meant sovereignty and the Boers something less than sovereignty, and for their desertion of the natives. Kimberley's main argument in reply was that a continuance of hostilities would probably have raised the Dutch against the British throughout South Africa. Out of doors Mr. Chamberlain at Birmingham made himself apologist-in-chief for the government policy. It was not until the end of July that Sir Michael Hicks Beach was able to move a vote of censure which he had laid on the table in April. In answer to his strong indictment Gladstone protested that "it would have been most unjust and cruel, it would have been cowardly and mean, if on account of these defensive operations [the attack on Majuba to save the camp at Lang's Nek] we had refused to go forward with the negotiations which, before the first of the miscarriages had occurred, we had already declared that we were willing to promote and undertake".

Upon Sir Evelyn Wood, who had throughout recommended military action, fell the uncongenial duty of sitting with Sir Henry de Villiers and Sir Hercules Robinson, Frere's successor at the

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Cape, on the royal commission which assembled at Pretoria on June 14. The Boers succeeded in getting the conditions of peace modified to their advantage. But the concessions were far from satisfying the Volksraad, which suggested various alterations in the convention, until abruptly informed by the British government that it must be taken as it stood. Ratified therefore it was on October 26. Two years afterwards Krüger came to London on yet another mission, and in February, 1884, obtained from the colonial secretary, Lord Derby, further approaches to complete independence. The title of the South African Republic was restored to the Transvaal state, and the assertion of British suzerainty disappeared from the preamble. But the discovery of rich goldfields had already rendered impracticable that isolation of the Dutch farmers from the outside world which this convention of London endeavoured to perpetuate. Their restlessness produced the establishment of the New Republic in Zululand to which reference has been already made,[1] and raids into Bechuanaland. In December, 1884, however, an expedition under Sir Charles Warren put a stop to their encroachments in that quarter.

The reversal of policy on the Indian frontier was equally abrupt. During the election campaign Lord Hartington had announced that if the liberals came into power they would withdraw the forces from Afghanistan. Lepel Griffin, therefore, pressed on the negotiation with Abdur Rahmán. The sirdar's replies were ambiguous, but he played his game with supreme skill; and on July 22 Griffin announced his recognition by the Indian government at a numerously attended durbar. The new amír placed his foreign relations under British control in return for an annual subsidy. Preparations for the evacuation of Kábul already begun, were quickened by the news of a military disaster. To this the incompetence of Sher Ali Khan, the nominee of the Indian government as Wali of Kandahar, was a contributing cause. The town had lapsed into disorder, when news arrived that Ayúb Khan was coming down from Herát. Taking with him some hastily raised levies, Sher Ali crossed the Helmand to watch the advance, while General Burrows was despatched to hold the river with a British and sepoy

[1] See *supra*, p. 319.

force, some 2,400 strong. On the approach of Ayúb the wali's men mutinied and went over to the enemy, though they were severely mauled by a detachment thrown across the river by Burrows. Feeling his position insecure, Burrows executed a series of retirements while Ayúb came cautiously on. On July 27 the British, who were misinformed as to the enemy's strength, advanced to attack him at Maiwand. The Afghans soon outflanked the British; artillery ammunition fell short; a charge of Ghazi fanatics threw the native part of the brigade into confusion, and it crashed into the 66th regiment which was overwhelmed by numbers. Of the 2,476 men engaged at Maiwand 934 were killed and 175 wounded or missing. Burrows extricated the remainder at much personal risk, and as the Afghans were apathetic in pursuit they struggled on through the night into Kandahar. Ayúb made no serious attempt to take the city; but he beat back, with heavy loss, an injudicious sortie by the demoralised garrison.[1]

Sir Frederick Roberts, by a great march from Kábul, gloriously retrieved this untoward disaster. His force consisted of 9,986 men of all ranks and eighteen guns. There were, besides, over 8,000 followers and 2,300 horses and gun-mules. He promised the Indian government that he would be at Kandahar under the month, and he was even better than his word. Such was the spirit of the Kandahar field force that it covered the 313 miles in twenty-three days with the loss of only twenty camp followers and four native soldiers. Roberts marched into Kandahar on August 31. Next day he came to a reckoning with Ayúb who had entrenched himself at Mazra. While Primrose made a feint on the Afghan left, the main attack was pressed by General Ross through the village of Pir Paimal. Despite the desperate rushes of the Afghans, the result did not long remain in doubt, and Ayúb fled, leaving his camp and thirty-two pieces of artillery to the victors. Notwithstanding this decisive action the government persisted in the evacuation of Kandahar. Their resolve was communicated to Lord Ripon in a despatch dated November 11. Lord Hartington laid down the principle that "any measure which would make necessary a permanent military occupation of Kandahar would be considered

[1] Roberts, *Forty-one Years in India*, ii., 357.

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by the government as open to the gravest objection". It was not so much a question of holding the town as of ruling over a province requiring an army of 20,000 men. In any case Kandahar would be far more effectively reoccupied by England as an ally of the Afghans when their country was threatened. Lord Hartington, therefore, desired Lord Ripon, Lytton's successor as viceroy, to keep in view the paramount importance of withdrawal.

The weak point in the policy of evacuation was that Kandahar would be left as the prize in a scramble; so much a reticent paragraph in the queen's speech of January 6, 1881, had practically confessed. Lytton fastened on it, and, having procured the publication of papers, he arraigned the government, on March 3, in a vigorous and effective speech, in which he insisted upon the reality of the Russian designs on Afghanistan. Abdur Rahmán, who could barely hold his own in Kábul, could not possibly keep Kandahar, where he was hated. The place was "to be left as a prize to be raffled for and rifled by every gamester in the sanguinary lottery of Afghan politics". Derby and Argyll, in reply to the denunciations of Russian ambitions by Salisbury and Cranbrook, contended that Kandahar would entail an annual charge of over £1,000,000 on imperial resources, and that the garrison would be isolated in the midst of a hostile population. But the debate was chiefly memorable as the occasion of Lord Beaconsfield's last great speech. With signs of declining powers painfully evident, he alluded briefly to the danger that the disintegration of Afghanistan would make an admirable pretext for a Russian advance, and then nerved himself for his peroration. "I myself believe that, even if we abandoned Kandahar, we should still be able to retain our Indian empire. I do not think it is absolutely essential to us. . . . My lords, the key to India is not Merv, or Herát, or Kandahar. The key of India is London." The peers passed a vote of censure on the government by 165 votes to 76. This verdict was reversed in the commons by 336 votes to 208, thanks largely to the arguments of Lord Hartington.

The scramble for Kandahar, predicted by Lytton, did not last long. When the British forces under General Hume evacuated the city on April 13 and took up a position of observation in the Pishin valley, it was occupied, though after some

hesitation, by a wali appointed by the amír. Ayúb came down from Herát once more, and on the anniversary of the battle of Maiwand defeated Abdur Rahmán's general near that battlefield, and seized Kandahar. Abdur Rahmán took a speedy revenge. On September 22 he routed Ayúb, and drove him as a fugitive into Persian territory. Adopting with pride the saying that "he ruled with an iron hand because he had to rule an iron people," he coerced tribe after tribe into subjection, and by 1884 had made himself complete master of the kingdom. Pishin and Sibi remained under British administration.[1]

Indian and colonial affairs received but intermittent attention during the session of 1881 from a parliament immersed in Irish legislation. The queen's speech of January 6 stated that the condition of that country had assumed an alarming character. Proposals were to be submitted, therefore, not only for the vindication of order and public law, but to secure the protection of life and property and personal liberty of action. A measure developing the principles of the land act of 1870, and another establishing a system of county government in Ireland, founded on representative principles, were also promised. Upon this text Beaconsfield gravely rebuked the government for having neglected the warning conveyed in his letter to the Duke of Marlborough,[2] and urged them to produce measures adequate to the occasion, and to proceed *de die in diem*. The Irish secretary promptly gave notice of a protection of property bill and an arms bill, which were to take precedence of all other measures. Forster prefaced the introduction of his protection of property bill by a description of the state of Ireland. Threatening letters excluded, 1,253 outrages had occurred in the year 1880, two-thirds of which were committed in the last three months. The executants of the "unwritten law" of the land league the chief secretary defined as "village ruffians," known to the police. Under the provisions of the bill the lord-lieutenant was empowered to issue a warrant for the arrest of any person whom he might reasonably suspect of treasonable practices or agrarian offences, and to detain such person as an unconvicted prisoner for a period not to extend

[1] T. H. Thornton, *Colonel Sir Robert Sandeman*, ch. xvi., and memorandum in appendix i.

[2] See *supra*, p. 299.

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beyond September 30, 1882. In a concluding passage the pain of Forster's generous and disillusioned heart could be perceived, as he dwelt upon the duty before him.

But the Irish members gave the chief secretary no quarter. They kept up a twenty-two hours' sitting, and yet another of forty-one, before the first reading of the bill could be taken. On January 31 the speaker, Brand, after taking Gladstone and Northcote into his confidence, brought the exhibition to an end by putting the question. His action was challenged, but he held his ground, answering that he had acted on his own responsibility and from a sense of duty. To meet organised obstruction, Gladstone drew up a resolution by which powers were given to the speaker to close a debate. Before he could bring it on member after member of the Irish party had to be "named" and suspended for demonstrating against the re-imprisonment of the convict Davitt. The speaker also devised fresh rules for the curtailment of debate; by their aid the protection of property bill was propelled through its remaining stages, and the lords disposed of it in three days. Sir William Harcourt introduced the arms bill in a speech which shocked Lord Randolph Churchill, who described it as provocative and defiant. The object of the measure was to render illegal the possession of arms and ammunition within proclaimed districts, to give power to search by day suspected persons or houses, and to prohibit or regulate the sale of arms. It was to remain in force for five years from the date of its becoming law. Violent scenes attended the progress of the bill, though several concessions were made. On March 21 the second of the government's coercive measures received the royal assent.

The secret of the land bill had been carefully kept, but the reports of the Richmond and Bessborough commissions had prepared the public mind for a measure based on the "three F's"—fair rents, free sale of tenants' interests, and fixed tenure—though the majority of the former body declared against that principle. Early in the year Forster had written to Gladstone that, if there was an election, he did not believe ten members would be returned who did not go in for that or for something stronger.[1] The prime minister laid legitimate stress on this

[1] Wemyss Reid, *Life of Forster*, ii., 293.

consensus of opinion when, on April 7, he opened his case for the redress of grievances due, according to him, not to the iniquity of the landlords but to "land hunger" aggravated by bad seasons. His remedy consisted in the establishment of a land court to take cognisance of rent, tenure and assignment, or sale. Recourse to it was to be voluntary. The court was to be empowered to find a "judicial rent" which was to remain in force for fifteen years. During that period the landlord could not evict his tenant except for the breach of certain specified covenants such as the non-payment of rent. After the expiration of a second term of fifteen years the landlord might resume possession, with the court's consent, and he had the privilege of pre-emption if the tenant wished to part with his tenant right. The bill contemplated peaceful settlements between landlord and tenant, but the power to contract out of its provisions was confined to tenancies of £150 a year and upwards. From another point of view the court was to be a land commission regulating the sub-commissions which would sit in the provinces. Transfer was to be cheap; the state would advance three-fourths of the purchase money and the tenant was not precluded from borrowing the remainder. Advances would also be made for agricultural improvements, including the reclamation of waste lands, and for purposes of emigration. CHAP. XV.

On April 19, before parliament reassembled after the Easter recess, Lord Beaconsfield had passed away. The last few years of his life, if not his happiest or most brilliant, had been those of his widest influence and his highest reputation. The conservatives, after long chafing at his leadership, had at length accepted it with unquestioning enthusiasm; and among multitudes of Englishmen of all ranks the old bewildered distrust had changed to unfettered admiration. The later imperialist phase of his career had obliterated many earlier memories; a generation which had forgotten the Peelite disruption and the struggle over the corn laws saw in the relentless parliamentary swordsman, the acrobatic party manager of the past, only the embodiment of a vigorous and self-assertive foreign policy which had raised British prestige and gratified patriotic sentiment. Perhaps the details of his imaginative Eastern diplomacy were not always understood; but he had made politics interesting to those new masters he had helped to call into power.

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He had gained the affectionate regard of no small portion of the working classes whom he had succeeded in convincing that conservatism was no longer the exclusive creed of the privileged and the wealthy. His personal character, too, had risen in the general esteem as his years drew out; even his political opponents respected his courage, his penetrating judgment, his dignified firmness. Underlying the theatricality that still clung to him it was felt there was something large and genuine, something that touched the nobler chords of public life. Thus he lived to be an idol, and died to become a tradition, for almost half his countrymen; and the anniversary of his death came to be kept as a kind of saint's day by ardent conservatives. To the party, for the time being, his loss was irreparable. Age having disqualified Richmond and Cairns for the leadership, it was divided between Salisbury in the upper house and Northcote in the lower. The first of the two was still regarded as a "master of gibes and flouts and jeers," and exercised but a loose control over his followers. Northcote's placid guidance became more and more repugnant to Churchill, who raised the banner of tory democracy, and in conjunction with the advocates of "fair trade" endeavoured to carry the process of "popularising" conservatism further than Beaconsfield had permitted or perhaps contemplated.

The very complexity of the land bill saved it from searching criticism. The opposition front bench, through the mouth of Lord John Manners, expressed regret that, instead of developing the industrial resources of Ireland, the bill confused, without settling on a general and permanent basis, the relations between landlord and tenant. Parnell treated Gladstone's "message of peace" with cynical contempt. But the prime minister's tenacity and skill in debate enabled him to hold his own against this divided attack. He carried the second reading by 252 votes to 176, thirty home rulers abstaining from the division. Parnell had forced them to take that ungracious step by a threat of resignation.[1] Churchill led the attack on the third reading, Northcote leaving the house as soon as he rose. His incisive speech was chiefly directed at Gladstone, whom he represented as being under the dictation of Parnell. But the

[1] Barry O'Brien, *Parnell*, i., 295.

debate collapsed, and the division gave the singular figures of 220 for the bill, and 14 against it. CHAP. XV.

Whig landowners in the commons had shown their dislike of the bill, and in the upper house the most vigorous criticism came from Lord Lansdowne, and from the Duke of Argyll, who left the ministry, after a pungent correspondence with the prime minister,[1] in order to be free to attack a measure which he deemed demoralising and dishonest. In his most sardonic mood Salisbury taunted the government with banishing political economy to Jupiter and Saturn, and prophesied that the tenants would inevitably continue the agitation in order to wring further concessions from the landlords. Meeting in private conclave, the conservative peers resolved to allow the bill to pass its second reading and to amend it freely in committee. They carried out their threat with resolution, and of four important amendments the prime minister would only accept one. A collision between the two houses followed by a dissolution seemed imminent, for the peers insisted on their amendments, despite the plaintive remonstrances of Granville. But Gladstone, though he repudiated the use of the word compromise, discovered, much to the indignation of the Irish members, that most of the lords' amendments did not affect the principle of the bill, and Salisbury, dexterously availing himself of this narrowing of the controversy, allowed the bill to pass.

The "message of peace" was far from accomplishing its professed aims. Nor could the protection act be said to have put a stop to the perpetration of outrages. Forster's theory that their authors were known to the police proved fallacious. Arrests could not be made because sufficient evidence was not forthcoming. He determined, therefore, on striking higher, and in the beginning of May Mr. Dillon, one of the leading Parnellite members, was consigned to jail. Still collisions between the peasantry and the police continued to be alarmingly common. Forster, thereupon, as he wrote to Lord Ripon in India, put the act into much more active operation, and arrested right and left.[2] Parnell, however, set himself to thwart the government policy. At a land league convention, held in Dublin, he

[1] *Memoirs of the Duke of Argyll*, ii., 369 *seq.*
[2] Wemyss Reid, *Life of Forster*, ii., 350.

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denounced the land act as a sham, and advised the farmers to keep away from the court until its value had been ascertained by test cases. At a great demonstration in Dublin, disloyal language was used and the "uncrowned king" posed as a rival to the executive. On September 26 Forster wrote to Gladstone suggesting the arrest of Parnell, and the prime minister assented if, in the opinion of the law officers, he had by his speeches been guilty of treasonable practices. The premier went to Leeds, and there, on October 6, after a generous tribute to Forster, denounced the men who were not ashamed to preach "the gospel of public plunder," and declared in a memorable phrase, that "the resources of civilisation were not exhausted". On the 12th Forster met the cabinet and obtained their consent to the arrest of the Irish leader. Parnell was conveyed with swift secrecy to Kilmainham prison, and six of his followers followed their chief to jail. The league, driven to desperation, issued a manifesto calling upon tenants to cease all payment of rent so long as its leaders remained in prison. On the 20th Forster proclaimed the league as "an illegal and criminal organisation".

When Parnell's followers had asked him who would take his place in the event of his arrest he grimly replied "Captain Moonlight".[1] So it proved. The land courts opened on the day of the land league's suppression, and by reducing rents some 25 per cent. went far to show that the tenants' grievances were by no means imaginary. But outrages continued, and even increased. The correspondence between Gladstone and Forster down to the end of the year is a melancholy analysis of evils and remedies. The chief secretary's continuance in office was, indeed, becoming a subject of disquiet to some of the radicals. A furious attack was made on him by the Irish members on the opening of parliament on February 7, 1882, and even from the conservative benches murmurs arose against the rigour of Irish coercion. Lord Donoughmore also carried in the house of lords a motion for a select committee to inquire into the working of the land act, though it had been barely four months in operation. Gladstone met the challenge by a resolution, declaring that any inquiry at that time would be injurious to the interests of good administration in Ireland. This he carried by 303 votes to 235.

[1] Barry O'Brien, *Parnell*, i., 312.

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But the government had to determine what should be done on the expiration of the protection act. The chief secretary was compelled to admit that the graver kinds of outrage, murder, manslaughter, and firing at the person, were on the increase. He contended that not only must the act be maintained, but that additional powers must be given to the Irish government, in order to enable it to bring undoubted criminals to justice. His chief opponent was Mr. Chamberlain. Parnell was released on parole to attend a nephew's funeral in Paris. On his way he communicated his views to some of his friends who placed themselves in communication with Gladstone and Chamberlain. The president of the board of trade followed up the scent; and on April 25 he was able to inform the cabinet that Parnell wished to co-operate in the cause of peace, but that all depended on the settlement of the arrears question. Forster found that his colleagues were in agreement that the Irish leader could be released if he and his associates gave a public assurance of their resolve, so far as lay in their power, to put an end to intimidation, including boycotting. On the 29th Forster intimated to Gladstone that he would resign rather than consent to such terms. Lord Cowper had already taken that step for reasons partly public, partly private, and the appointment of his successor, Earl Spencer, who was of cabinet rank, had been made public with Forster's full approval. While matters were in suspense Parnell's emissary, Captain O'Shea, communicated to Forster the result of a visit to Kilmainham. He read a letter from Parnell stating that: "If the arrears question be settled on the lines indicated to us, I have every confidence—a confidence shared by my colleagues—that the exertions we should be able to make strenuously and unremittingly would be effective in stopping outrages and intimidation of all kinds". Further, Parnell gave a general promise that the home rulers would co-operate cordially for the future with the liberal party. On his own account O'Shea contributed the gloss that "the organisation which had been used to get up boycotting and outrages, should now be used to put them down". Forster refused to have anything to do with this compact, and on May 2 he placed his resignation in Gladstone's hands.

The "new departure" consequent on this transaction, namely the release of the imprisoned members and of all suspects not

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associated with the commission of crime, and its "lamentable consequence," the loss of the chief secretary, were briefly announced by Gladstone on the same day. Forster's successor proved to be, not Chamberlain, as the world expected, but Lord Frederick Cavendish, Lord Hartington's brother. Two days afterwards the ex-minister made his explanation in a speech of remarkable dignity. He had resigned, he said, because he had thought it wrong to buy obedience to the law by concessions to lawbreakers. Gladstone denied that an arrangement had been effected with Parnell; but Parnell made no secret of the fact that communications had passed between himself and various members of the government, and O'Shea confessed to having been the intermediary. And bit by bit the details of the "Treaty of Kilmainham" came forth to light. The documents were read, and Forster stirred political passions to their depths when he declined to allow a garbled version of Parnell's letter—omitting all reference to his suggestion that he and his friends would be able to support the liberal party—to pass. It appeared that O'Shea had taken upon himself to suppress the paragraph. The whole transaction was bitterly criticised by Forster's friends and by the conservatives. Mr. Balfour described it as standing alone in its infamy.

But the "treaty" had already been rendered void of effect by a hideous crime. A band of Fenian assassins, known as the Invincibles, who had vainly been dogging Forster's footsteps, murdered his successor Lord Frederick Cavendish and the permanent under-secretary, Mr. Burke, as they were walking in broad daylight through Phœnix Park, Dublin, on May 6. Escaping in a car, they baffled the police for months, and no arrests were made. After Forster had magnanimously placed his services at the disposal of the government, Mr. George Trevelyan, financial secretary to the navy, became Irish secretary. The nationalist leaders expressed their detestation of the Phœnix Park crime, and Parnell even informed Gladstone that he was willing to retire from the leadership of the home rule party. The suggestion was evidently sincere, but it was also politic. Lord Selborne dated from this period the change in Gladstone's mental attitude towards Parnell, a change which altered by a gradual process his views upon Irish policy.[1]

[1] Selborne's *Memorials*, pt. ii., ii., 47.

For the moment, however, a return was made to coercion. A committee of the cabinet took up a prevention of crimes bill already in preparation and strengthened it until, in the words of one of its authors, Lord Chancellor Selborne, it was as strong in its provisions as any law enacted for the preservation of peace in Ireland for more than a century. As introduced by Sir William Harcourt the bill created a special tribunal of three judges, who, it was eventually decided, were to be chosen by ballot, to preside over trials for treason, murder, and other aggravated crimes, when the lord-lieutenant was satisfied that impartial verdicts could not be obtained. They would sit without juries; but their judgments must be unanimous and there must be an appeal to the court for crown cases reserved. The police were authorised to enter houses by day or night to search for the apparatus of crime, and to arrest persons prowling about at night without reasonable cause. The lord-lieutenant could proclaim unlawful assemblies. Districts where extra police were needed had to pay for them, and compensation was to be levied locally for murders and maiming. This severe but salutary measure passed through both houses with but little amendment. Parnell, who seemed oppressed by the deed of Phœnix Park, used throughout language of moderation. His followers did not imitate him, but vigorously obstructed the bill, until after an all-night sitting, on July 1., Lyon Playfair, the chairman of committees, summarily suspended eighteen of them. He strained his authority in so doing, but he materially aided the progress of the bill.

Gladstone's arrears bill, the second reading of which was taken on May 22, proved to be adapted in principle from a measure brought in by Mr. Redmond, which Parnell had drafted in Kilmainham prison. In brief, it applied to tenancies under £30, and provided that on the application of either landlord or tenant the obligations on them should be cancelled, on two conditions: (1) That the tenant had paid his rent for November, 1880—November, 1881; (2) that he could give proof to the land court of his inability to pay in full. Further, the state was to contribute a sum not exceeding one year's rent or half the total arrears. Gladstone admitted that his bill could not be defended on logical grounds, but both he and the chief secretary, Mr. Trevelyan, pleaded that a clearance of accounts was necessary to give the land act a fair chance. This argument prevailed

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with the commons, and, after long debates in committee, the bill passed its third reading by 285 votes to 177 on July 21. In the upper house, Lord Salisbury proceeded to riddle it with amendments much as he had treated the land bill; but finally allowed it to pass, though he declared it to be most pernicious, an act of simple robbery which would bear the gravest results in the legislation of the future.

In spite of the time consumed over Irish affairs, parliament succeeded in passing some useful measures. Selborne carried a married woman's property bill which placed married women on an equality with men in the eye of the law as regarded their private incomes, earnings, or inheritance. Cairns was the author of a settled lands act, removing the chief restrictions in dealing with entailed estates. A revised education code relieved teachers from complicated returns, stimulated them to take up special subjects, and while keeping the system of payment by results attached greater importance than before to regularity of attendance.

The finance as well as the general policy of the cabinet was seriously affected by the affairs of Egypt. British intervention had become inevitable. The step involved a vote of credit in the session of 1882 of £2,300,000, which Gladstone met by raising the income tax from fivepence to eightpence for the latter half of the financial year. The condition of Egypt had called for European, and particularly British, attention for several years past. In 1875 the government despatched Stephen Cave, the paymaster general, on a financial mission. His report, when it appeared in April, 1876, proved the financial condition of the country to be by no means hopeless, despite a debt of £75,000,000 sterling; but severe comments were passed upon the dishonesty and extravagance of the government and its oppression of the fellaheen. For the moment the Cave report appeared to have checked the rake's progress of the khedive, Ismail Pasha. As a beginning of better things came the institution of the mixed tribunals in 1876, which did much towards suppressing the outrageous claims of foreign concession-hunters by submitting them to international scrutiny An international public debt office, known as the *Caisse de la Dette publique* was created in Cairo, and British and French controllers of finances were appointed.

These officials were, however, prevented from getting to the bottom of the mischief, and in consequence of a fresh report in August, 1878, they were suppressed, and a new experiment tried of a mixed ministry, consisting of Nubar Pasha, Rivers Wilson, an Englishman, and M. de Blignières, a Frenchman, who persuaded Ismail to mortgage his family estates, the Daira and Domains. But their efforts after economy were thwarted by short loans, renewed on ruinous terms, and by anticipations of revenue. The khedive further set his European and Egyptian advisers by the ears, and forced Nubar Pasha to resign by provoking a military *émeute*. At length the powers, at the instigation of Germany, took action; they invoked the suzerainty of the Porte, and on June 26, 1879, Ismail was deposed by a decree of the sultan. To the clever spendthrift succeeded his son, Tewfik, patient, honest, but of limited intelligence. The dual control was revived with larger attributes, the representatives of France and England being Blignières and Major Evelyn Baring, subsequently Lord Cromer, who on being transferred to India in the following year was succeeded by Sir Auckland Colvin. They were assisted by a purely native ministry under Riaz Pasha. The law of liquidation wiped out the floating debt, consolidated the obligations of Egypt in a few great loans, and fixed the interest at a rate which under normal conditions it was possible, though very difficult, for it to pay. At the same time the caisse became a financial *imperium in imperio*, putting Egypt into "a strait waistcoat of the severest kind". The era of reform had dimly dawned.[1]

During the first year of Gladstone's government Egyptian affairs were growing rapidly worse. The agents appointed in Egypt under the joint control lacked moral support, while their mere presence depreciated the authority of the khedive and his native advisers. A military committee was formed, led by Ahmed Arabi and his abler and more unscrupulous associate Mahmud Sami. Raising the cry of "Egypt for the Egyptians," they aimed at purging the army of Turkish officers and, though in a smaller degree, ridding the country of the administration of foreigners. They organised demonstrations before

[1] Lord Milner, *England in Egypt*, with additions by Sir Clinton Dawkins and Sir J. Eldon Gorst, p. 180; and the summary of events in Sir Auckland Colvin's *The Making of Modern Egypt*, pp. 19-21.

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the khedive's palace, bullied his ministers, and in February, 1882, forced on him an administration of their own with Mahmud Sami as premier and Arabi as minister of war. Gambetta, who was at this time directing French affairs, urged joint material intervention. Lord Granville, however, shrank from that step, and the upshot was a note of January 8, 1882, in which the military party was denounced, and Tewfik was solemnly assured that he had the moral support of the two powers. At this juncture Gambetta fell from power, and was replaced by M. de Freycinet, a politician even more dilatory than Granville himself. They invoked the European concert; they discussed the idea of the intervention of the sultan under a European mandate, and to further that end despatched the English and French fleets to Alexandria. Finally, a conference was aimlessly summoned to Constantinople.

Arabi was master of the government, but he could not control the rabble. On June 11 armed rioting broke out in Alexandria; the British consul-general was wounded, some fifty Europeans, mostly Levantines, killed, and much property destroyed. Urged on by Lord Salisbury's scathing criticism, the cabinet, on July 5, decided on armed intervention in certain eventualities. This decision cost them John Bright, who resigned rather than forfeit the convictions of a lifetime. Meanwhile Arabi was throwing up earthworks, and, on the strong representations of Sir Beauchamp Seymour, the admiral in command of the British Mediterranean squadron, the government consented to the bombardment of the fortifications of Alexandria. In pursuance of orders from home, the French fleet took no part in the operations. On July 11 Seymour's ironclads and gunboats with the loss of six killed and twenty-eight wounded, silenced the Egyptian artillery, whose shot mostly fell short. Then Arabi retired into the interior; the native mob rose again, burnt the European quarter of the city and killed some 2,000 Europeans, Greeks and Levantines. For over two days the conflagration raged, and Seymour, with no troops to help him, could do no more than land marines for the protection of the khedive at Ras-el-Tin.

On July 30 the British cabinet decided on acting alone. The Porte was informed by the ambassador at Constantinople, Lord Dufferin, that Great Britain considered herself invested

with the duty of restoring order in Egypt, and of safeguarding the Suez Canal. The services of a Turkish army corps were declined. Childers, an energetic secretary for war, pressed the preparations for the expeditionary force vigorously forward.[1] Sir Garnet Wolseley took command, while a contingent under General Macpherson co-operated from India. All told, the force numbered 40,560 officers and men. Arabi, on his side, had proclaimed a *jehad*, or holy war, and the fellaheen had flocked to his standard. On August 16 Wolseley landed at Alexandria, and, after deceiving the enemy by an adroit manœuvre at sea, occupied Port Said, Ismailia, and other positions on the Canal. The pasha, meantime, had entrenched himself at Tel-el-Kebir. There Wolseley, after two minor engagements, found him on the dawn of September 13, stormed his lines, and put his troops to rout. Arabi fled to Cairo and was there taken prisoner by the Indian contingent after a forced march across the desert; Damietta and other places surrendered, and the war was over. Put on his trial, Arabi pleaded guilty to rebellion, but the sentence of death passed on him was commuted for banishment to Ceylon.

The British government, having become solely responsible for the administration owing to the refusal of France and the other powers to co-operate, refrained from establishing a protectorate over Egypt. Granville resorted instead to the fiction of "restoring the authority of the khedive," and on January 3, 1883, gave the powers to understand that the garrison would be withdrawn as soon as the state of the country permitted. The Egyptian army was disbanded, and with infinite patience Sir Evelyn Wood and a handful of British officers proceeded to create a new force out of unpromising materials. General Wood's appointment was made on the advice of Lord Dufferin, whom the government sent out to Cairo on a special mission. With bright optimism he summarised the situation in a series of eloquent despatches.[2] His blue book was mainly designed to captivate the fancy of the British public; it equipped the land of the Nile

[1] *Life and Correspondence of H. C. E. Childers* (by his son, Lieut.-Col. Spencer Childers), ii., 117.

[2] For able expositions of Dufferin's policy, see Sir A. Lyall, *Life of the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava*, ii., 46, and Sir A. Colvin, *Making of Modern Egypt*, pp. 27-37.

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with a superfluous legislative council and general assembly established by the organic decree of May 1. But the real work of administration was entrusted to officials picked out by Dufferin's sagacious eye. The dual control was abolished, and a financial adviser instituted who was first Sir Auckland Colvin, and next Sir Edgar Vincent. Englishmen took the direction of public works, of the police, and to some extent of justice, with powers of advice equivalent to those of command. Finally Major Baring returned to Egypt in September as British agent and consul-general, and turned that amorphous position into a supreme control of Egyptian affairs, external and domestic, by means of which the Nile valley was eventually to be brought into a condition of peace, stability, security from external oppression, and internal prosperity, such as it had not known for many centuries. But already new dangers confronted the country, and the shadowy empire which Ismail had created in the Sudan was dissolving before the advent of a fanatical mussulman, Mohammed Ahmed, known as the mahdi, or "the guide," who by force or persuasion assembled a formidable host of the warlike tribesmen round his banners.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE SECOND GLADSTONE ADMINISTRATION.—II.

THE Irish crimes act of the Gladstone ministry seemed at first to have failed as the peace preservation act had failed. The murders of a landlord and an agent could not be brought home to their authors, and on August 17 a terrible outrage took place at Maamtrasna, where a whole family, except one boy, were assassinated because it was thought that they knew too much about the doing to death of Lord Ardilaun's bailiffs. Juries were found public-spirited enough to convict the guilty, and the experiment of trial by a panel of judges was never put in force. Parnell, too, was still intent on moderation. About this time he stopped the ladies' land league, which had taken the place of the suppressed organisation, by withholding supplies. On October 17 a conference met in Dublin to set up new political machinery. The national league was formed. Parnell insisted on making home rule its principal object, much to the disgust of Davitt, an ardent advocate of land nationalisation. He was now at issue with the American extremists, Patrick Ford and O'Donovan Rossa, who thought that English public opinion could be terrorised into compliance with the nationalist demands. Their animosity was sharpened by the arrest of the Phœnix Park murderers at the beginning of 1883, and their conviction on the evidence of James Carey, one of their number who turned informer.

An autumn session from October 24 to December 2 passed resolutions for the reform of procedure, abandoned in the summer through pressure of public business. As a last resort Northcote tried to avert closure in any shape and came within forty-four of carrying his point. In its final form the suspension of debate by the speaker or chairman of ways and means was

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safeguarded by the provision that it should not operate unless it had been supported "by more than 200 members, or unless it shall appear to have been opposed by less than forty members, or opposed by more than 100 members". Grand committees on law and trade, which were to have the same authority as committees of the whole house, were also instituted by Gladstone, to quicken public business. They justified their existence, and it was reserved for the conservatives to strengthen those rules of procedure which at the outset they had strenuously opposed.

The session of 1883 began on February 13 with abundant promise of domestic legislation. But a prolonged debate on the address intervened, which was relieved from mediocrity by Forster's "impeachment" of Parnell. The nationalist leader was accused of conniving at outrages and murders, of refraining from using his influence to prevent them, and of referring to them merely as "prejudicial when a suitable organisation existed among the tenants themselves". Parnell was with difficulty persuaded to reply to this indictment. Next day, however, he delivered a chilling speech, in which the accusations were sedulously avoided, and a scornful indifference to English opinion expressed. A recrudescence of Bradlaugh, who in the interval had been fighting his case doggedly in the law courts, still further delayed public business. Gladstone produced a bill providing for affirmation. "I have no fear of atheism in this house," he said: "truth is the expression of the divine mind, and however little our feeble vision may be able to discern the means by which God may provide for its preservation, we may leave the matter in His hands". But there was a strong personal prejudice against Bradlaugh not entirely due to theological animus; and in a scene of great excitement the government suffered defeat by three votes—289 to 292—on April 30. Bradlaugh remained excluded from the house for the remainder of the parliament.

Legislation was deemed necessary to meet the dynamite outrages by which the Clan-na-Gael retaliated on the English community for the passing of the crimes act. Hitherto its emissaries had made clumsy attempts to blow up public buildings with gunpowder. But on April 5 the police made the first of a series of arrests which included Dr. Gallagher, the

leading spirit of the conspiracy, and Whitehead who had established a dynamite factory in Birmingham. Quantities of explosives were found in their possession, and they had presumably been concerned in attempts on the Local Government Board and the *Times* printing office. Convicted on the clearest evidence, Gallagher, with Whitehead and two others, was sentenced under the treason felony act of 1848 to penal servitude for life. Sir William Harcourt meanwhile had introduced his explosives bill, and carried it through all its stages in a single day, April 9. The bill passed the lords after a characteristic growl from Lord Salisbury against legislation in a panic. Notwithstanding the rigour of the act, miscreants were not deterred from perpetuating further explosions at London Bridge, the Tower, and even parliament itself on January 24, 1885. The vigilance of the police secured convictions, and in the end the Clan-na-Gael could not plume itself on having secured a single victim. From the American "skirmishing fund" no less than 118,000 dollars were devoted to these dastardly outrages between 1881 and 1884.[1]

The chief measures of the session were the agricultural holdings act, the bankruptcy act, and the corrupt practices act. The first, introduced by Dodson, the president of the local government board, gave outgoing tenants on lease a right to compensation for permanent improvements and made yearly tenancies terminable only on a twelve months' notice. The bankruptcy bill, introduced by Mr. Chamberlain, commanded general approval. It provided an independent examination into the affairs of bankrupts, and a just administration of their estates by official receivers. Sir Henry James, the attorney-general, took charge of the corrupt practices bill, the outcome of the scathing report of the bribery commission published in 1881. It reduced the expenses of a general election from £2,500,000, its cost in 1880, to £800,000. A maximum of disbursement was allowed which no candidate or agent might exceed. Candidates found personally guilty of corrupt practices could be excluded from parliament altogether, or from sitting in the constituency in which they were committed, or from voting at an election or holding a public office for seven years.

[1] Le Caron, *Twenty-five Years in the Secret Service*, p. 238.

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If guilty through their agents, they would be declared incapable of representing the constituency for seven years. Those convicted of bribery, treating, or undue influence, were made liable to a year's imprisonment, and to a fine of £200. Offenders guilty of personation could be imprisoned with hard labour for two years. The finance of the year offered but little scope for criticism. At the beginning of the session, Gladstone, who talked once more of retiring from public life, gave up the chancellorship of the exchequer to Childers, who was able to reduce the income tax from sixpence halfpenny to fivepence, while by creating new terminable annuities he extinguished some £70,000,000 of debt and set aside a sum necessary for the introduction of sixpenny telegrams.

The firm administration of the crimes act by Lord Spencer had restored law and order in Ireland, and under it several of Parnell's lieutenants were consigned to prison, while Orange exuberance was checked, but a home ruler captured an Ulster seat, and a letter to the Irish bishops emanating from the pope which strongly discountenanced a projected testimonial to Parnell, signally failed to attain its aim. Liberal dissensions attracted quite as much attention as Irish celebrations. A franchise bill was known to be in contemplation, and Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Hartington differed widely over its provisions. So strong were the objections of the latter to its extension to Ireland that throughout December he was with difficulty dissuaded from resigning.[1] Churchill expressed what was no doubt the latent feeling of the conservative party, when at Edinburgh he declared the enfranchisement of the agricultural labourer to be "premature, inexpedient, unnatural, and therefore highly dangerous".

When parliament met, the queen's speech promised an immediate measure "having for its principal object the enlargement of the occupation franchise in parliamentary elections throughout the United Kingdom". The feeble and dilatory policy of the government in Egyptian affairs gave rise to numerous motions for censure, and it was not until February 29, 1884, that the prime minister could expound the principles of his bill. He proposed to add over 1,300,000 votes to the English

[1] Fitzmaurice, *Granville*, ii., 322.

constituencies, over 200,000 to the Scotch and 400,000 to the Irish—some 2,000,000 altogether, nearly twice as many as were added in 1867, and nearly four times as many as in 1832. Every male adult in the United Kingdom who was the head of a household could become an elector. For the English boroughs a new "service" franchise was created. With regard to the counties, the £50 landowners' franchise was to be abolished for the sake of uniformity; the qualification of a £12 rateable value of 1867 reduced to £10 yearly value, and the service, lodger, and household franchises of the boroughs extended to them. In Scotland the £50 franchise was to be absorbed, as in England, and the £14 occupation franchise reduced to £10 clear annual value. Ireland was also to enjoy the lodger, service, and household franchise, while for the £4 rating value franchise there would be substituted a rating franchise of £10 annual value. Thus in each of the three countries the borough and country electorates would be placed on an identical footing. Gladstone's clearness of exposition forsook him when he came to give his reasons for not accompanying an enlargement of the suffrage by a redistribution of seats. They were, in effect, that the second part of the reform would hamper the first; and that when redistribution was joined to franchise it had always been of a trifling character. But he declined to "fall into the trap" of producing his plan, though he admitted that it ought to follow next session.

The conservatives did not venture to deliver a direct attack on the bill, and were content with touching lightly on the unfitness of the agricultural labourer for the vote. They made legitimate capital out of Gladstone's failure to disclose his redistribution scheme, declaring that the new constituencies would be "gerrymandered," that is manipulated, for the benefit of the dominant party. Lord Salisbury took an early opportunity for hinting that he would force a dissolution as soon as possible. The debates therefore proceeded with an air of unreality, the chief topic being the over-representation of Ireland and the ignorance of its population. The fate of the bill seemed secure, so far as the commons were concerned. Lord John Manners's amendment, that the house would not proceed with the measure until it had the full details of the government scheme of parliamentary reform before it, was rejected by a

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majority of 130 votes, and the bill was read a second time without a division. The progress in committee was slow, owing to the repeated attempts of the conservatives to force a revelation of his redistribution scheme from the prime minister. But in other respects they were at cross purposes, and Churchill, once more in open revolt against Northcote, frequently voted with the government. An amendment excluding Ireland was defeated by 332 to 137, after Gladstone had made a passionate appeal for justice. Finally Gladstone imperiously swept away an amendment advocating woman's suffrage. He sent the bill up to the lords on June 26 with the significant quotation: "Beware of entrance to a quarrel; but, being in, bear't that th' opposer may beware of thee".

Cairns at once gave notice of a resolution, to the effect that the house "while prepared to concur in a well-considered and complete scheme for the extension of the franchise," would refuse assent to the bill, unless adequate security were given that it should only take effect as part of such an entire scheme. When Kimberley moved the second reading of the bill Salisbury supported the amendment in a caustic speech, containing, however, the suggestion that the whole difficulty would be at an end if the government would introduce a clause preventing the scheme from coming into operation without redistribution. His suggestion was not accepted, though it was privately discussed by Cairns and Granville, and the government suffered defeat by 205 votes to 146. Gladstone thereupon announced that the bill would be re-introduced in an autumn session. An attempt at compromise made by the Earl of Wemyss was rejected, and both sides hastened to present their case to the country.

The queen anxiously impressed upon Gladstone her desire that the dispute between the two houses should be peacefully settled. He fully concurred, and on August 30 made the first of a series of speeches in Scotland in which he deprecated organic changes in the constitution of the country, and hoped that the lords, by retreating from their present position, would render them unnecessary. His followers, especially the radical section of them, did not in all cases imitate his moderation, and a jingle invented by Mr. John Morley about "mending or ending" the upper chamber obtained a certain vogue. Still the quarrel created more noise than violence, except at Aston

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Villa, near Birmingham, where a meeting attended by Northcote and Churchill was broken up, with the subsequent result that Mr. Chamberlain was called to task in the house of commons for his inflammatory language, and only escaped censure by 214 votes to 178. The first definite overture was made by Lord Hartington, who, on October 4, suggested that the conservative leaders should be shown the redistribution bill, and that if they were satisfied with its fairness they should co-operate with the government in carrying the two measures successively. This public proposal quickened the private negotiations which had been initiated by the queen. But the autumn session was well advanced, and the bill, having passed through its stages in the commons by large majorities, had gone up to the lords before differences of opinion could be finally adjusted. On November 19, Salisbury and Northcote called on the prime minister in Downing Street, and at subsequent meetings, Hartington, Granville and Sir Charles Dilke were taken into council. On the 27th Gladstone informed the queen that "the delicate and novel communications" had been brought to a happy termination.[1]

The franchise bill was accordingly read a third time in the house of lords on December 5, the day after the redistribution bill, the joint product of the rival leaders, had been read a second time in the commons. The latter was a bold measure extinguishing no less than 160 seats. Thus, all boroughs up to a population of 15,000 would be merged in the counties; all towns up to 50,000, and the counties of Rutlandshire and Herefordshire, would cease to be represented by more than one member. London would have thirty-seven additional members, but the City would lose two of its four members. Liverpool would have six additional members, and Glasgow and Birmingham four; Yorkshire sixteen additional members and Lancashire fifteen. The net result was that England would obtain six additional seats and Scotland twelve. One-member divisions would be instituted, except in the City of London, and existing towns of between 50,000 and 165,000 inhabitants, which would be allowed to return two members. After an adjournment, the house met again on February 19, 1885, when

[1] Morley, *Gladstone*, iii., 135-38; and Lang, *Sir Stafford Northcote*, ii., 204-6.

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motions to censure the government for their conduct of affairs in Egypt and the Sudan stopped for some time the further progress of the redistribution bill. In committee the opposition showed resentment at the bargain to which they had been bound by their leaders, and Northcote was placed in a position of some embarrassment. The bill became law in June, and it was accompanied by registration bills for the three countries, after the lords had struck out a clause providing that the receipt of parochial medical relief should not be a disqualification for the franchise.

The credit to be derived from the enlargement of the franchise was obscured by the unfortunate foreign policy of the Gladstone government. Bismarck, most irritable of great men, angrily resented the suspicious attitude which Granville assumed towards the colonial expansion of Germany. An abundant crop of misunderstandings arose over Angra-Pequeña on the west coast of Africa, the inquiry of the German chancellor as to whether Great Britain considered it under her protection remaining unanswered while Derby, who had joined the ministry as colonial secretary, was taking the opinion of the Cape government. At last Bismarck cut matters short by hoisting the German flag over the disputed port, and annexing the whole of the territory between 26° south and the Portuguese boundary, with the exception of Walfisch Bay which the foresight of Bartle Frere had already secured for England. After that the scramble for Africa went forward rapidly. A conference at Berlin eventually settled all outstanding questions. By a general act of the European powers on February 24, 1885, free navigation was established in the basins of the Congo, the Niger, and the Zambesi and its tributary the Shiré on the east coast. On the first river, the Congo Free State, originally known as the International African Association, founded by the King of the Belgians, secured by a separate series of negotiations the greater part of Central Africa, the Portuguese being apportioned an *enclave* on the southern bank, while the French received an extension of the Gabun colony. By way of lessening friction in the future the powers agreed that effective occupation should be the title of annexation, and that "spheres of influence" should be recognised as distinct from territorial acquisitions.

Bismarck's ill-humour was but little mitigated by this im-

portant instrument. He vented his wrath in the Reichstag upon the obscurity and dilatoriness of British diplomacy, and set up vexatious claims in New Guinea. The southern part of that island, which the Australians regarded with a jealous eye, had actually been annexed by the Queensland government, but in 1883 the colonial office declared the act to be "null in point of law and not to be admitted in point of policy". Confederation, Derby declared, must precede such an increase of responsibility. The protectorate of the southern part and the adjacent islands from which the British government shrank had to be hastily proclaimed in August, 1884, in order to frustrate a scheme for a French protectorate; but German warships descended on the northern coast, and the German flag was hoisted there. The full measure of the chancellor's pretensions was accepted through the influence of Gladstone, who wished to secure German support in Egypt; and Australian loyalty suffered a serious affront.

The difficulties in the Sudan which contributed more than any other cause to the fall of the second Gladstone administration, were largely of its own making. A situation of some perplexity was admittedly created by the rise of the mahdi, the embodiment of a great revival of Moslem fanaticism. From February, 1877, to August, 1879, the vast territory had been vigorously administered by Charles George Gordon, who, as a young officer of the Royal Engineers, had shown extraordinary powers of leadership at the head of an irregular force which enabled the Chinese government to suppress the Tai-ping rebellion in 1864. His achievements had given him a world-wide reputation and gained for him the appointment from the khedive of governor-general of the Sudan. The Arabs respected and obeyed a ruler whose sublime self-confidence was founded on a religious faith deeper than their own; and in a series of daring military expeditions Gordon crushed the slave-dealers. But this nineteenth-century crusader established no permanent government, and after his departure disorder and confusion prevailed. The khedive's ministers were intent upon the impossible task of restoring his authority, and the British cabinet confined itself to a disclaimer of responsibility. In the result, General Hicks, an officer in the Egyptian service, was despatched into Kordofan with the riff-raff of an army, some 12,000 strong, consisting chiefly of Arabi's disbanded fellaheen.

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The mahdi's dervishes overwhelmed the whole force in the waterless desert on November 5, 1883. Province after province rapidly passed into the mahdi's possession, and Egyptian rule was confined within the walls of the garrison towns. What was to be done? Sir Evelyn Baring recommended the evacuation of the Sudan south of Assuan or Wady Halfa. That policy carried with it the duty of extricating the garrisons and the civil populations. Baker Pasha, with a force of Egyptian gendarmerie advanced, therefore, from Suakim to the relief of Tokar, one of the towns held by khedivial troops. On February 11, 1884, the Arabs scattered it like chaff, and an entrenched camp alone saved it from annihilation. Sinkat, another of the besieged towns, fell and its brave garrison was massacred. The cabinet then determined to send British troops to Suakim, the prime minister alone objecting.[1] General Graham fought several bloody engagements against the mahdist dervishes and local tribesmen under Osman Digna, and reached Tokar to find that the besieged had made terms with the besiegers. The expedition was turned to no further account.

"Rescue and retire," had been Gladstone's formula when on February 19 he was confronted by a vote of censure which was rejected by a narrow margin—311 votes to 292. To carry out this policy four members of the cabinet had selected General Gordon, whose services Sir Evelyn Baring and the Egyptian ministers had twice declined. But the memory of Gordon's wonderful exploits in China, his masterful government of the Sudan, and his strange and fascinating character, which combined a taste for reckless adventure with a devotional mysticism, had deeply impressed the public imagination. Gladstone, though at first much opposed to the mission, yielded reluctantly to the pressure put upon him by some of his colleagues and the outcry set up by certain of the London newspapers.[2] The ministers and the editors apparently thought that since the Egyptians and Europeans in the Sudan were beyond human aid—except at great expense—the time had come for an invocation of the saints. To send Gordon would at any rate be cheaper than sending an army, and his "magnetic personality" might prove equal to difficulties otherwise insurmountable. The fateful decision was reached on January 18, 1884, and that night

[1] Morley, *Gladstone*, iii., 149.

[2] Cromer, *Modern Egypt*, i., 426.

the hero started on his mission. "We were proud of ourselves yesterday," said one minister to another; "are you sure that we did not commit a gigantic folly?" Gordon's instructions were vague and contradictory. In London his commission was confined to advice; he was to make the removal of the garrisons his immediate and principal care and to report on the best means of so doing. When he arrived at Cairo executive duties were laid upon him, for the khedive appointed him governor-general of the Sudan. "Whose servant was he?" asked Northcote soon after Gordon reached Khartum, and the uncertainty carried with it fatal consequences.

His mission was probably doomed to failure in any case. Two Europeans who were taken captive by the mahdi, Slatin Pasha and Father Ohrwalder, both inclined to the opinion that the evacuation of Khartum might have been safely managed without him, whereas his arrival merely tempted the Egyptian element to remain.[1] Besides no one man could resist a movement of fanatical Mohammedanism unless he had effective force behind him, and Gordon had none. His own notion of his mission differed from that of the government. He aimed at establishing a settled rule in the Sudan and intended to remain there until his task was accomplished. To that end he made the startling proposal that the ex-slaver, Zobeir, whose son he had himself caused to be put to death, should be sent to help him and to succeed him as governor when he left Khartum. Gladstone alone of the cabinet was in favour of accepting the proposal, and the Arab was undoubtedly the only man capable of making head against the mahdi. Zobeir being refused him, Gordon fell back upon the policy of "smashing up" the prophet by means of military support, and passionately demanded the despatch of British troops to Wady Halfa or even of two squadrons of cavalry to Berber. For himself, he declared, he would never desert those who had trusted him and whom he had involved in a struggle with the dervishes.

The fall of Berber on May 26 cut off Gordon from civilisation; and, as his cowardly troops ran like hares, he had soon to remain on the defensive behind his entrenchments in Khartum. He succeeded nevertheless in sending down 2,600 persons in

[1] Slatin, *Fire and Sword in the Soudan*, pp. 280-81; and Ohrwalder, *Ten Years' Captivity in the Mahdi's Camp*, ch. vii. and viii.

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safety to Assuan. The siege was at first in the nature of a loose investment, but the dervishes had closed round the town long before Gladstone had ceased arguing to his own satisfaction that Gordon was "surrounded" but not "hemmed in". On September 10, Gordon sent Colonel Stewart, his second in command, and two other Europeans down by steamer to convey news to Lower Egypt, and if possible to lend a helping hand to any force that might be coming up the Nile or across the desert. But the steamer was treacherously run aground and the party was murdered. In October the arrival of the mahdi before Omdurman, the fort on the left bank of the White Nile, put fresh zeal into the dervishes. They isolated the place from Khartum, and on January 15, 1885, it surrendered after a gallant defence by Farragalla Pasha.

For months the public at home had clamoured for the relief of Gordon. The cabinet argued the pros and cons of an expedition all through May and June, and on July 15 Hartington brought matters to a head by declining to be responsible for military policy unless a decision was reached. Before parliament rose a pledge was given that, if necessary, an expedition would be sent to Khartum and the votes for it were taken. Even so, much time was wasted in the discussion of rival routes, until Lord Wolseley, who was selected to command the relieving force, got his way, and it was resolved to proceed up the Nile.[1] But it was not till September 1 that the preparations were completed and Wolseley was able to leave England to direct the march from Egypt. The expedition, instead of being the small and handy column recommended by those on the spot, notably by Major (afterwards Viscount) Kitchener, gradually grew into an unwieldy body of 10,000 men, the pick of the British army. Want of conveyance and transport animals rendered its progress slow. On December 30 Herbert Stewart was despatched with a camel corps across the Bayuda desert from Korti to Metemmeh. The column had to fight two severe engagements at Abu Klea on January 17 and Abu Kru or Gubat on the 19th before it reached the Nile, with its general mortally wounded. On the 21st four steamers sent down by Gordon to meet the expedition

[1] The alternative route, from Suakim to Berber, had many advocates. But see Wingate, *Mahdiism and the Eastern Sudan*, p. 118, footnote, where the dangers of the operation are taken into account.

arrived, and were received with delight as bringing tidings of him. But a delay of three days occurred at Gubat, spent partly in removing the Egyptian troops and replacing them with Sudanese, as Gordon wished, and partly in making reconnaissances. At length on the 24th Sir Charles Wilson, who had succeeded to the command, started with two steamers on his perilous quest. The voyage took four days, and when Wilson sighted his goal he discovered that the Egyptian flag had disappeared from government house. Khartum had fallen to an assault made at dawn two days before on January 26; Gordon had been killed, and the famine-stricken population had been delivered over to massacre and pillage.[1]

Anger and consternation filled England when the news of the fall of Khartum was received on February 5. The queen openly expressed her feelings of pain. The opposition promptly moved votes of censure in both houses; that in the lords was carried by 181 votes to eighty-one, while in the commons the government escaped defeat by an attenuated majority of fourteen. The cabinet discussed the propriety of resignation, but Gladstone dissuaded his colleagues. In spite of radical murmuring, they took up the policy of "smashing the mahdi" earnestly pressed upon them by Lord Wolseley. A mixed British and Indian force, with a contingent patriotically despatched by New South Wales, advanced from Suakim, and preparations were made for laying down a line from that port to Berber. Much ineffectual slaughter ensued, including a heavy toll levied by the Arabs when they surprised General McNeill's zariba on March 22. Then, as the situation on the Afghan frontier became menacing, the government began to waver; and in April, despite the queen's displeasure, they decided to withdraw

[1] It was undoubtedly the delay at Gubat that brought about the fall of Khartum. Father Ohrwalder asserts that if twenty red-coats had arrived the place would have been saved, and that the mahdi, who had determined on retirement into Kordofan, only decided on attacking when he heard that the steamers were delaying their advance (*Ten Years' Captivity*, pp. 167-68). But Sir Charles Wilson in his narrative, *From Khorti to Khartoum*, points out that his first duty was to see that his small force, with its wounded, was secure from immediate attack, while there was nothing to show that a delay of a couple of days would make much difference. In any case Khartum could have been relieved in good time if the expeditionary force had started from England, as Lord Wolseley urged, a few weeks earlier than it did.

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altogether from the Sudan, and that country was left for some years longer to the anarchy and fanatical oppression which British intervention had merely aggravated.

Simultaneously with their embroilment in Africa, the Gladstone government found itself on the brink of war with Russia. The advance of that power in Central Asia had proceeded latterly with increasing momentum. The foreign office appreciated the significance of this approach towards Afghanistan, but Granville wrote to the queen that "it was doubtful whether any understanding with Russia would be really efficacious, and it seemed certain that the Russians did not desire to come to an understanding".[1] An advance of the Russian forces to within touch of the ill-defined Afghan frontier raised the question, however, in a more serious shape. In deference to English representations, the Russian government agreed to the appointment of a joint commission to demarcate the boundary north of Herát. General Sir Peter Lumsden, the chief British commissioner, promptly started for the debatable ground, and reached it on November 19, 1884. His Russian colleague, General Zelenoi, failed to appear, illness being the reason given for his absence. While Lumsden was thus reduced to idleness, bodies of Russian troops, under the command of Colonel Alikhanov, a Russianised Mussulman, were pushed rapidly south of Sarakhs. The amír's levies made corresponding advances northwards, and, on February 21, 1885, the British government learnt that two hostile forces were looking into the whites of one another's eyes in the valley of Penjdeh, regarded as undisputably Afghan territory.

To the remonstrance of the British foreign office the Russian government turned a deaf ear, contenting itself with the assurance that its officers had been ordered to avoid conflict with the Afghans. So grave was the crisis that on March 4[2] the queen telegraphed to the tsar, deploring misunderstandings between the two countries, and appealing to his pacific sentiments. Then it appeared that the Russian government desired a preliminary discussion as to the principles which were to govern the delimitation: were they to be based on race or on geography? The Russian troops would not advance or attack, provided the Afghans remained quiet, "unless in the event of some extra-

[1] Fitzmaurice, *Granville*, ii., 420. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 423.

ordinary accident, such as a disturbance at Penjdeh". The cabinet accepted this dilatory arrangement, but before any conclusions were reached the dreaded event happened. General Komarov, on March 20, attacked the Afghans and routed them. He contented himself with proclaiming the annexation of Penjdeh, while the British mission, placed in a position at once precarious and humiliating, retired in the direction of Herát.

Lord Ripon, who had rendered himself unpopular with the English in India by what they considered undue deference to native susceptibilities, had been succeeded in 1884 by Lord Dufferin. One of the new viceroy's first proceedings was to invite Abdur Rahmán to meet him in India, and a durbar was arranged at Ráwal Pindi. The amír crossed the border on the very day that his troops were routed at Penjdeh, and next day he met the viceroy. With Oriental impassiveness he treated the incident with which all Europe was ringing as a frontier scuffle of no importance, and his main preoccupation seemed to be the exclusion of British troops and officers from his country at all hazards, even at the risk of losing Herát. All he required was arms and money, and he was not disposed to insist upon Penjdeh as an integral part of Afghanistan. He returned home, after earnest professions of loyalty to the alliance, with breechloaders, heavy guns for Herát, and ten lakh of rupees. "All the lies which were repeated to the Indian government were washed out, and the friendship of the two nations was publicly announced to the world," he afterwards recorded in his autobiography.[1] Dufferin, though alive to the difficulty of defending "the inviolability of a frontier nearly a thousand miles from our own borders," considered that "the betting was in our favour so far as the amír and even his people were concerned".[2]

The Indian government prepared for the despatch of 25,000 men to Quetta, in order, if necessary, to throw a garrison into Herát before the Russians could get there. Arrangements were made for the mobilisation of a second army corps, so that, on the declaration of war, 50,000 troops would cross the border. The railway works, which had been suspended, were resumed, and it was calculated that the line would reach Quetta in four

[1] *Autobiography of Abdur Rahmán*, ii., 129.
[2] Sir A. Lyall, *Life of Lord Dufferin*, ii., 89-101.

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months' time. At home the government showed due perception of the seriousness of the crisis. On April 21 the announcement was made that a vote of credit for £11,000,000 would be asked for, £4,000,000 would be required for the Sudan, and the remainder devoted to "special preparations," £4,000,000 for the army and £2,500,000 for the navy. In moving the vote Gladstone used lofty and spirited language. Such was the impression produced by the premier's speech that all hostile amendments were withdrawn, and, a few days later, he thanked the opposition for their patriotic and forbearing action. Port Hamilton, an island in the Pacific, which threatened Vladivostok, was occupied.

The government decided, nevertheless, on pushing conciliation to its utmost limits. Lumsden, sorely mortified at the failure of his mission, was recalled. A suggestion was thrown out that the responsibility for the Penjdeh collision should be referred to a neutral arbitrator, such as the King of Denmark. The proposal never ripened, but a provisional arrangement that the place should be neutralised, pending the assignment of its ownership, materially advanced a pacific solution. Speaking at the Royal Academy dinner on May 2 in the presence of the Russian ambassador, Granville expressed his belief that the peace of Europe would not be disturbed. The opposition considered that a surrender had been made to Russia, and Salisbury was provoked at Hackney to the satire that, "the government go into every danger with a light heart, and then they make up by escaping from it with a light foot". Debates in both houses failed to throw fresh light on the relations with Russia, though a vote of £5,000,000 for the new line of frontier defence was an earnest of the government's intention to abide by its responsibilities, and a hostile motion was lost by only 30 votes. Little progress, however, had been made with the negotiations when the Gladstone government came to an end. It may be added here that Salisbury took them where Granville had left them, and Colonel West Ridgeway was appointed to take charge of the boundary commission. The claim of Russia to Penjdeh was conceded, but fresh difficulties arose on the spot, and the commissioner had to be deputed to St. Petersburg before a protocol was signed in July, 1887, delimiting the whole frontier between the Hari-Rud and the Oxus.

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The fall of the Gladstone government came, when it did come, unexpectedly. Discredited by its lack of success in dealing with Ireland, by the disasters of the Sudan, by the feeling that the national honour had not been well maintained, and by the knowledge of its domestic discords, it lingered on, until the cabinet was nearly torn to pieces over the questions of the renewal or non-renewal of the crimes act and of the establishment of representative local government in Ireland. Lord Spencer prevailed, and the act was prolonged in a modified form, in spite of the opposition of Sir Charles Dilke and Mr. Chamberlain who were with difficulty dissuaded from resigning. At last the opposition found their long-sought opportunity. An adroitly contrived amendment to Childers's budget was moved by Sir Michael Hicks Beach. The perplexed chancellor of the exchequer proposed to make both ends meet by increasing the spirit duty and the beer tax, by equalising the death duties on real and personal property, and by raising the income tax from 5d. to 8d. Sir Michael Hicks Beach condemned the increase of the beer and spirit duties in the absence of any corresponding increase of the wine duties, and deprecated the increase of the tax on real property while no relief was given to the rates. He carried his amendment, amid wild demonstrations of delight from Churchill and from the Irish members who voted with the opposition, by a majority of 12—264 votes against 252; and, on June 12, Gladstone announced the resignation of the government. He was offered and declined an earldom.

Gladstone's second administration presented a conspicuous and unfavourable contrast to the first. Ireland, which during his former period of office had offered him a field for bold and comprehensive reforms, was during his second term a scene of confusion and disorder, aggravated by vacillation, uncertainty, and divided counsels in the cabinet. At home and abroad Gladstone was called upon to face problems with which he was far less fitted to deal than with those of his earlier premiership. His strength did not lie in the control of foreign politics or the direction of military affairs, but rather in financial management and in the construction and exposition of those measures of domestic legislation with which he had set the crown and seal upon the era of economic middle-class liberalism. Between 1869 and 1873 he had the advantage of being thoroughly in

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sympathy with the party which on the whole represented the dominant force in politics at the time. The situation was very different a dozen years later. Liberalism was abandoning its mid-century ideals and was feeling the new influences which had been brought into active politics by the enlargement of the franchise. Gladstone, conservative in intellect, in temperament opportunist, was endeavouring, with incomplete success, to adapt himself to the change: conscious of the radical movement and yet regarding it with a distrust which was fully returned by the radicals themselves. The constituencies, however, were still liberal; and the conservatives, as the next general election showed, had gained little from the failures which had discredited the outgoing ministry. The country might have remained for some years longer under the rule of liberal cabinets, coloured by a steadily increasing infusion of the radical element, but for that startling change in his Irish policy by which Gladstone himself broke up his party and enabled its rivals to carry over the majority of the electorate.

CHAPTER XVII.

HOME RULE AND THE LIBERAL SPLIT.

THE incoming government were in a minority of nearly 100, and a dissolution could not be advised before November, when the franchise and redistribution bills would come into operation. But so grave was the outlook abroad that the conservative leaders decided on taking office.[1] A prolonged hitch ensued, because Gladstone declined to give specific pledges of support in the conduct of public business, while he was most unwilling to return if Lord Salisbury, who was summoned to Windsor, failed to form a ministry. The queen intervened, and on June 23 brought the interregnum to an end by recommending the new premier to close with his rival's offer to provide facilities for supply, together with an assurance that there was no idea on the part of the opposition of withholding ways and means. Lord Randolph Churchill's flat refusal to join the government if Northcote continued to lead the commons, produced a second crisis. He was adamant; and a division on a point of detail having shown that many of the party felt with him the need of a stronger leader, Northcote generously consented to accept a peerage as Earl of Iddesleigh with the presidency of the council. Sir Michael Hicks Beach became leader of the house and chancellor of the exchequer, and Churchill took the India office.

The new ministers met parliament on July 6. Though no actual bargain existed, intimations had been made to the Irish members that they were prepared to dispense with coercion. Churchill had even told Parnell that if he joined the government he would not consent to renew the crimes act, and the answer had been: "In that case you will have the Irish vote at

[1] Lang, *Sir Stafford Northcote*, ii., 211.

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the elections".[1] Accordingly the new viceroy, Lord Carnarvon, after rejecting in the house of lords the idea of re-enacting the statute as a whole, or even with the omission of such portions of it as the powers for changing venue at the discretion of the executive and for dealing summarily with charges of intimidation, pronounced in the name of his colleagues against all exceptional legislation. Shortly after this remarkable declaration Parnell on July 17 took advantage of his understanding with the ministry to demand an inquiry into the executions for the Maamstrasna and other murders. The demand was in form refused. though the government promised that the lord-lieutenant would carefully consider any memorials presented to him on the matter: he did so, with the result that the executions were found to be just. Parnell's motion gave Hicks Beach and Churchill an opportunity of aspersing Lord Spencer's policy. These attacks on a much-enduring statesman were indignantly repudiated by many conservatives, and denounced by Bright, at a banquet held in Lord Spencer's honour, as acts of disloyalty to the crown and direct hostility to Great Britain. The ministerialist press was irritated; the public perplexed. Subsequent disclosures further revealed that Carnarvon, with the knowledge and approval of Lord Salisbury, sought a private interview with Parnell, and that it was held in June in an empty house in Grosvenor Square. The viceroy made it clear that he spoke only for himself; but in the course of a desultory conversation he displayed leanings towards home rule in a limited form which the Irish leader was careful, when the opportunity arose, to turn to his own advantage. Interviews with Parnell were always risky expedients.[2]

Apart from their ungenerous treatment of Lord Spencer, the "government of caretakers" acquitted themselves creditably. Bradlaugh once more presented himself to take the oath; the leader of the house appealed to the resolutions previously passed, and the matter was settled without a division. Hicks Beach carried a budget practically identical with his predecessor's, save for changes in those matters on which Gladstone's government had been defeated. The prime minister was

[1] Winston Churchill, *Life of Lord Randolph Churchill*, i., 395.

[2] Carnarvon gave two explanations of this incident in parliament, the first on June 10, 1886, the second on May 3, 1888.

responsible for a bill for the housing of the working classes, which empowered the local government board to pull down dwellings unfit for human habitation, and rendered landlords liable for letting unsound or insanitary tenements. The worst urban slums were gradually reconstructed under this useful measure, which strong individualists like Lord Bramwell denounced as an advance towards state socialism. The Ashbourne act, so called after its author, the Irish lord chancellor, was a courageous experiment by which £5,000,000 were set aside for advances to Irish tenants for the purchase of their holdings, the loans carrying a 4 per cent. interest, and forty-nine years being allowed for repayment. Among the legacies of the late government, abandoned for want of time, was a criminal law amendment bill, intended for the protection of young girls. The editor of a London evening paper found in it a topic for a series of highly sensational articles, and for an adventure in the manufacture of evidence which ultimately consigned him to Holloway jail. But he had at any rate awakened public interest in the subject. The bill was hastily re-introduced, and the "age of consent" raised from fifteen to sixteen. The institution of a secretaryship for Scotland was a useful measure of administrative reform, and a bill for Australian federation led the way to great things to come. Churchill's unexpected capacity in office had won universal praise. He lent liveliness to the debate on the Indian budget by an animated attack on Lord Ripon's administration. The most unpopular of that viceroy's measures with his fellow-countrymen in India had been an act passed in the previous year, and generally called the "Ilbert bill," after the legal member of the council. This act, which created a prodigious stir, gave native district magistrates and session judges powers to try Europeans who were brought before them, though those placed on their trial could claim a jury, half of whose members at least were to be whites.

Even before the resignation of his ministry, Gladstone had contemplated an extension of local government to Ireland with an elective central board, a scheme for which Mr. Chamberlain stood sponsor.[1] The ex-premier's natural bent towards the encouragement of popular aspirations, and his keen delight in

[1] Morley, *Gladstone*, iii., 193, 194.

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the parliamentary game, together with the feeling that if he failed to play a master card he would lose that game, now began to propel him a long way further towards the idea of a separate legislature and executive for Ireland. Some weeks before parliament rose, he was vaguely sounding Granville and Derby on the possibilities of a "larger plan"—Ireland to be treated like Canada. He received considerable encouragement from Granville, but Derby expressed "unalterable" disapproval.[1] His next pre-occupation was to prevent an open rupture between Lord Hartington and the whigs, on the one hand, and Mr. Chamberlain and the radicals, on the other. Parnell played upon the hopes and fears of both English parties impartially by announcing at Dublin on August 24, that in the new parliament the Irish party would have "a programme and a platform with only one plank, and that one plank, national independence". Churchill left this audacious challenge alone, but Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain united in condemning it. Otherwise they were wide as the poles asunder, and the whig chief made no attempt to conceal his dislike for his radical colleague's "unauthorised programme," which included the compulsory expropriation of landlords for the purpose of creating peasant holdings—ridiculed under the title of "three acres and a cow"—free education, a progressive income tax, and much besides.

These cross-currents, combined with a passing gust of alarm as to the stability of the Church of England, rendered Gladstone's course one of supreme difficulty as the general election, which had been fixed by an understanding between the two English parties, drew near. His address of September 17 was prolix and enigmatic. On some matters he appeared in agreement with Lord Hartington, on others with Mr. Chamberlain. As to Ireland he wrote with Delphic obscurity. The constituencies had many things to distract them from the Irish question, such as the miscarriages in foreign policy of the last Gladstone government, and numerous personalities. Mr. Chamberlain compared Lord Hartington to Rip van Winkle; Churchill likened him to a political boa-constrictor, condemned to swallow instalment after instalment of the radical programme. While one member of the late government, Childers, pronounced for

[1] Fitzmaurice, *Granville*, ii., 460.

some form of home rule, another, Sir William Harcourt, condemned the tories to "stew in their Parnellite juice until they stank in the nostrils of the people". Gladstone's electoral campaign in Midlothian was clearly governed by his desire to keep his followers together. He raised the question of Scottish disestablishment, and then adroitly advised that it should be postponed for a while. He declared that "whatever demands may be made on the part of Ireland, if they are to be entertained, they must be subject to the condition that the unity of the empire shall be preserved," but he declined to intervene when the responsible government was silent. The counterstroke to this was a manifesto, issued by the leaders of the Irish nationalists, calling, with many objurgations, on their fellow-countrymen to vote against the liberal party.

When the general election came to an end in December, it was seen that the Irish vote was too scattered to affect more than a few constituencies; but fortune favoured Parnell to an extraordinary degree. The liberals renewed their majority, though a pronounced reaction against them ran through the urban electorate. Two ex-cabinet ministers, Childers and Shaw-Lefevre, lost their seats; Bright only saved his from Churchill in Birmingham by some 700 votes. London, which before the redistribution act, had returned fourteen liberals and eight conservatives, now sent up thirty-seven conservatives and twenty-five liberals. Borough representation in England gave a majority for the government; they held 118 seats against 110. But the newly enfranchised agricultural labourers declined to follow this lead, and Scotland remained steadily liberal. In Ireland Parnell's nominees wiped the liberal party out of existence, and penetrated the Ulster preserve. The total strength of parties showed that the liberals mustered 335 votes, the conservatives 249, the nationalists 86. Thus the liberals alone exactly equalled the conservatives plus the Irish. The home rulers, therefore, held the balance, a result which Gladstone had vehemently deprecated in more than one election speech.

Gladstone's first idea was that the Irish question could be settled by the co-operation of the English parties. Meeting Mr. Balfour at Eaton Hall, he broached the matter first in conversation, and then in a letter, deploring it as "a public calamity

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if this great question should fall into the lines of party conflict". The former member of the "fourth party," now president of the local government board, expressed scepticism, but promised on December 20 to communicate with his uncle, the prime minister. Three days later Gladstone wrote again, pressing for an answer. Lord Salisbury blandly replied that a communication of the views of the government would at that stage be at variance with usage. As parliament would meet for business before the usual time, it was better to "avoid a departure from ordinary practice which might be misunderstood". Gladstone's offer of co-operation was presumably sincere; but it is difficult to see how he could have expected the conservatives to accept an alliance in which they would bear all the responsibility, while the opposition, with their majority, would keep the guidance. Besides, the whole issue had been prejudiced by a startling announcement, which had appeared on December 17, simultaneously in the *Standard* and the *Leeds Mercury*. Gladstone, an astonished public learnt, was prepared to deal with the home rule question, subject to the maintenance of the unity of the empire, the authority of the crown, and the supremacy of the imperial parliament, but coupled with the creation of an Irish parliament, to be entrusted with the entire management of all legislative and administrative affairs, securities being taken for the representation of minorities and an equitable partition of all imperial charges. Gladstone's son, Herbert, was responsible for this untimely revelation, which his father could only explain as not an accurate rendering of his views, but a speculation on them, published without his knowledge or authority.[1]

Lord Hartington had long since recoiled from the policy of adventure to which his chief appeared to be committing the liberal party. "I think," he had written to Granville so far back as August 7, "Mr. G's state of mind is extremely alarming. He seems to consider the central board plan the minimum which might have sufficed; but as that plan appears to have collapsed, a separate legislature in some form or another will have to be considered."[2] On the other hand Gladstone found that he could rely upon Lord Spencer, who was driven over to home rule by his treatment in the Maamstrasna debate, and on

[1] Morley, *Gladstone*, iii., 265. [2] Fitzmaurice, *Granville*, ii., 462.

Granville who was docile. He communicated his views on December 17 to Lord Hartington in a wordy letter, containing the phrase, "a statutory basis seems to me better and safer than a revival of Grattan's parliament". Upon that, and the information in the *Standard*, Lord Hartington acted. Though Granville and others anxiously tried to keep him silent, he wrote to the chairman of his committee in Lancashire, stating that "no proposals of liberal policy on the Irish demand had been communicated to him; and that for his own part he stood to what he had said at the election". As the year closed Gladstone was understood to be intent upon "a plan of duly guarded home rule"; while the liberal party hardly knew which way to look, though, in the ingenuous phrase of Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, the ex-Irish secretary, many of them were "finding salvation".

Before the general election the difficulties of the government vied in acuteness with those of the opposition, in spite of Salisbury's able handling of foreign affairs. Churchill pressed upon his chief the necessity of a coalition with the whigs, offering to resign if places could be found in the government for Lords Hartington and Rosebery, and for Goschen.[1] Salisbury regarded such projects as premature; but his lieutenant, nothing daunted, drew up a long and bold memorandum on domestic reform. To some of the items the elder statesman demurred, but Lord Randolph stuck to his text: "Our task should be to keep the boroughs as well as to win the counties; this can only be done by an active progressive—I risk the word, a democratic —policy, a casting off and a burning of those old, worn-out aristocratic and class garments from which the Derby-Dizzy lot, with their following of county families, could never, or never cared to, extricate themselves". Ireland soon traversed these speculations. In the middle of October Churchill had visited Dublin, and found Carnarvon seriously alarmed at the growing power of the land league. Boycotting was rife; outrages not uncommon. A barbarous murder in November by a gang of moonlighters threw discredit on the overworked constabulary. The viceroy felt himself debarred both by his conviction and by his public declarations from asking for special legislation; he

[1] *Lord Randolph Churchill*, ii., 8.

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perceived that none of his colleagues now shared his views as to home rule, although they might, for tactical purposes, have toyed with the idea. Either he or the government with him must resign. Salisbury faced with equanimity the consequences of the viceroy's retirement; the step would nominally be taken on the ground of health or some private reason. On December 17 the prime minister privately asked William Henry Smith, the secretary for war, to assume the direction of Irish affairs as Irish secretary with cabinet rank, and he agreed to accept the undesirable office; but Carnarvon's resignation was not made public until the middle of the following month.[1] On January 16 Lord Salisbury produced at a cabinet meeting a paragraph for the queen's speech announcing the immediate introduction of a coercion bill prepared by Lord Ashbourne; and his colleagues, though taken by surprise, consented. The conservative party had once more fallen back upon the old watchword, the maintenance of law and order.

Parliament met formally on January 12, 1886, for the swearing-in of members and the election of the speaker. Peel was again placed in the chair, and at once disposed of the Bradlaugh difficulty, by declaring that he would not permit any objection to a lawfully chosen member taking the oath. The member for Northampton was thus at length able to take his seat, and the six years' controversy ceased to trouble parliament. Bradlaugh held the seat till his death in 1891, and his speeches, unexpectedly moderate in tone, were listened to with attention and even with respect by all parties in the house. The announcement of Smith's appointment to the Irish secretaryship whetted public curiosity. On January 21 the queen's speech contained a challenge to Gladstone and the home rulers, and a somewhat hypothetical expression of policy. "I have seen with deep sorrow the renewal since I last addressed you of the attempt to excite the people of Ireland to hostility against the legislative union between that country and Great Britain. I am resolutely opposed to any disturbance of that fundamental law, and in resisting it I am convinced that I shall be heartily sup-

[1] Sir Herbert Maxwell, *Life and Times of W. H. Smith*, ii., 163. Mr. Winston Churchill appears to regard the appointment as having been arranged in the following January (*Lord Randolph Churchill*, ii., 40). It is possible that Smith's acceptance in the first instance was only conditional.

ported by my parliament and my people. . . . If, as my information leads me to apprehend, the existing provisions of the law should prove to be inadequate to cope with these growing evils, I look with confidence to your willingness to invest my government with all necessary powers." Unreal debates on the address, and Churchill's clever but unsuccessful attempt to divert the attention of the house to the reform of procedure prolonged the crisis. At last, on January 26, Hicks Beach brought matters to a head by giving notice that the Irish secretary would ask leave to introduce a bill dealing with the national league, intimidation, and the protection of life, property, and public order in Ireland. It would be followed by a land bill, extending the Ashbourne act.

The secret was out at last. Gladstone called on Harcourt and told him that he had determined on taking any and every legitimate opportunity to remove the existing government from office. The natural reply was: "What! Are you prepared to go forward without either Hartington or Chamberlain?" Gladstone replied, "Yes".[1] He had not to wait long for his opportunity. An amendment stood on the notice paper in the name of Mr. Jesse Collings, one of Mr. Chamberlain's Birmingham colleagues, regretting the omission from the queen's speech of measures for the benefit of agricultural labourers. Gladstone announced his conversion to this item in the "unauthorised programme," and it was discussed with due solemnity, though members were fully aware that a much larger issue loomed behind. "If the result of this division," said the leader of the house, "should be unfavourable to her majesty's government, we shall accept that decision without regret. We assumed office reluctantly, and we shall leave it willingly, as soon as we are assured that we do not possess the support of the house. But the success of this motion will have another and a graver issue than the defeat of her majesty's government. It will also be a defeat of the policy which they have announced they believe it to be their duty to pursue with reference to Ireland." The government were beaten by 79 votes. But sixteen liberals, including Lord Hartington, Goschen and Sir Henry James, voted for them, while the absentees included Bright and

[1] Morley, *Gladstone*, iii., 288.

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Villiers, his old associate in the anti-corn-law agitation. Next day, January 28, the Salisbury ministry resigned.

Gladstone kissed hands on February 1, and thus became for the third time prime minister, the queen expressing her hope that no "separatist" would be admitted to the cabinet. Separation, however, Gladstone always maintained was not in the least likely to ensue from his plan. To each of those whom he invited to join his cabinet he submitted a memorandum stating that his object was to determine whether it was or was not practicable to establish by statute a legislative body to sit in Dublin, to deal with Irish as distinguished from imperial affairs. Confronted by this test, Hartington, Derby, Northbrook, Goschen and Bright all declined office. Mr. Trevelyan agreed to join, in the hope, as he innocently observed afterwards, that "they would knock the measure about in the cabinet, as cabinets do". Mr. Chamberlain, whose position was one of peculiar difficulty, joined with much misgiving, and without pledging himself further than to a policy of inquiry. The official announcements showed that Harcourt and Childers had changed places, Harcourt becoming chancellor of the exchequer, Childers home secretary. Mr. Campbell-Bannerman filled Lord Hartington's place as secretary for war. Granville surrendered the seals of foreign affairs to Lord Rosebery, and went to the colonial office. Lord Herschell accepted the chancellorship which was declined by Sir Henry James, who had no sympathy with Gladstone's Irish policy. Of the new members of the cabinet the most important was Mr. John Morley, a distinguished man of letters, of advanced liberal views, who had "spoken strongly in favour of a colonial type of government for Ireland";[1] though we have it on his own authority that the story of his being concerned in the conversion of Gladstone to home rule was "pure moonshine". He became Irish secretary, with responsibility second only to the prime minister's for the preparation of the plan.

A riot in London, which was much talked of at the time, though it was not really serious, marked the early days of the ministry. On February 8, after a meeting of the unemployed in Trafalgar Square, at which speeches were delivered by some

[1] Morley, *Gladstone*, iii., 296 and note.

leaders of the Social Democratic Federation, including Messrs. John Burns, Hyndman, and Champion, the rough element unexpectedly found the West-End at their mercy, and accomplished some looting and damage until broken up by the police superintendent. The resignation of the chief commissioner and various recommendations for the preservation of order made by a parliamentary committee, with the home secretary as its chairman, appeased public alarm. The country remained expectant, while the chancellor of the exchequer introduced a commonplace budget, and Trevelyan, the secretary for Scotland, a crofter's bill, enforcing, though with limitations, the principles of fair rents and fixity of tenure. But Randolph Churchill's keen eye had perceived the point at which Gladstone's lines could be most readily pierced. He repaired to Ulster and there proclaimed to the loyalists that, if they were handed over to a foreign and an alien assembly in Dublin, "in that dark hour there would not be wanting to them those of position and influence in England who would be willing to cast in their lot with them, and who, whatever the result, would share their fortunes and their fate". With even less ambiguity he wrote later on to a member of parliament, "Ulster will fight; Ulster will be right". At Manchester on March 3 he gave currency to the political terms, Unionists and Separatists, and made open overtures to Lord Hartington, Goschen and Sir Henry James. Lord Salisbury, then in the Riviera, seemed to entertain no hope of a successful result.[1] CHAP. XVII.

Towards the end of March, however, rumours of ministerial dissensions hardened into fact. Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Trevelyan had wished to resign on the 13th; dissuaded with difficulty, they persisted in their resolution on the 26th. Their subsequent explanations revealed that the former chief secretary objected to the withdrawal of the machinery of law and order from direct British authority, chiefly because it necessitated the buying out of the Irish landlords. Mr. Chamberlain also resisted the surrender of the appointment of judges and magistrates. But his criticism practically embraced the whole bill which, in a letter written to the prime minister on the 15th, he characterised as "tantamount to a proposal for separation". He con-

[1] *Lord Randolph Churchill*, ii., 73.

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tinued: "I think it is even worse, because it would set up an unstable and temporary form of government which would be a source of perpetual irritation and agitation until the full demands of the nationalist party were conceded. . . . The policy which you recommend to parliament and the country practically amounts to a proposal that Great Britain should burden itself with an enormous addition to the national debt and, probably, also to an immediate increase of taxation, not in order to secure the closer and more effective union of the three kingdoms, but, on the contrary, to purchase the repeal of the union and the practical separation of Ireland from England and Scotland." The nature of this formidable indictment had been guessed, rather than become known, when, after two ominous postponements, Gladstone, on April 8, moved for leave to bring in his Irish government bill. A land purchase bill was to follow.

The home rule measure as disclosed in the prime minister's speech bore evident signs of compromise. It seems to have been a good deal altered by the cabinet; and Parnell, to whom it was submitted in outline, criticised its financial provisions tenaciously, but without effect on Gladstone.[1] A comparatively brief exordium set forth that coercion had become impossible after the refusal of the late government to renew the crimes act, and that it only remained to try the alternative of stripping law in Ireland of its "foreign" garb and investing it with a domestic character. Gladstone next passed under review some by no means felicitous historical parallels of divided legislatures, such as those of Austria and Hungary, and Sweden and Norway. Then the orator came to grips with his subject. The government intended to propose the establishment of a legislative body to sit in Dublin, to make laws for Ireland, and to control Irish administration. In general terms he promised securities for the unity of the empire and adequate protection for the minority, among whom he included all who were interested in land ownership, civil servants, and those who did not belong to the Roman Catholic Church. He even threw out the suggestion that Ulster might have separate treatment.

The details of the scheme were, briefly: (1) The members of the Irish parliament were to be excluded from Westminster,

[1] Morley, *Gladstone*, iii., 306.

chiefly, said Gladstone, because of the impossibility of drawing a distinction between affairs which were imperial and affairs which were not imperial. "I believe," he said in a phrase destined to be often used against him, "that it passes the wit of man." (2) As to taxation, the new legislative body would have general powers of imposing taxes with the exception of customs duties and excise duties connected with the customs. These would remain in the hands of the imperial parliament, but after Irish obligations had been discharged, the balance would be paid into the Irish exchequer to remain at the disposal of the Irish legislative body. Thus, it was asserted, the fiscal unity of the kingdom would be absolutely maintained. (3) The legislative body was not to be endowed with particular legislative powers, Gladstone preferring to proceed by an enumeration of disabilities. Cognisance of all matters relating to the crown or the devolution of the crown would be withdrawn from it; all that related to defence—the army and the navy—would be out of its province; it would have no concern with foreign or colonial relations, nor would it be capable of establishing or endowing any religious body. Trade and navigation, coinage and legal tender, weights and measures, and copyright would all remain under the imperial parliament. (4) The new legislature would consist of two orders. The first would comprise the twenty-eight representative peers, so long as they lived, and seventy-five other members elected for ten years by persons of £25 a year qualification, and possessed of a property qualification of £200 a year. As the peers died off, or as vacancies occurred, the new members would be chosen by the same constituencies. The second order would consist of 103 members chosen by the existing constituencies with 101 more added. The two orders would deliberate together, with the power of separate voting, and the refusal of one order or the other to pass a bill would block it for three years or until the next dissolution.

With regard to the executive, the bill provided that a viceroy should still be appointed and should be assisted by a privy council; he would not go out of office with the government, and the religious disability would be removed. The financial details were somewhat complicated. The effect was that Ireland would contribute to imperial charges in the pro-

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portion of one-fifteenth, "an equitable or even a generous arrangement". At the same time by the export of commodities, such as spirits and porter, on which the English consumer really paid the duty, Ireland would also be the gainer by £1,400,000. It was calculated that the incidence of imperial expenditure *per capita* would be £1 10s. 11d. in Britain and 13s. 5d. in Ireland. Gladstone drew up an "Irish budget" to show how his proposals would work; the figures gave Ireland a surplus of £404,000. His concluding remarks touched upon the intense local patriotism of the Irish, and he urged that to them should be applied "that happy experience which we have gained in England and Scotland, where the course of generations has taught us, not as a dream and a theory, but as practice and as life, that the best and surest foundation we can find to build upon is the foundation afforded by the affections, the convictions, and the will of the nation; and it is thus by the decree of the Almighty that we may be enabled to secure at once the social peace, the fame, the power, and the permanence of the empire".

After an outburst of indignation from the Ulster members, the interest of the first night's debate centred on the speeches of Mr. Trevelyan and Parnell. The former set forth at some length his reasons for resigning, and ended by a declaration that separation itself was preferable to "paper bonds". Parnell scathingly criticised the financial details of the measure, declaring that one-twentieth was a truer proportion for Ireland to pay of the imperial charges than one-fifteenth. But in a single sentence he declared that the bill would be cheerfully accepted by the Irish people as a solution of the long-standing dispute between the two countries. Mr. Chamberlain resumed the debate and vindicated his retirement from the cabinet by insisting upon the injustice and impracticability of Gladstone's scheme. Lord Hartington declared that the bill would inevitably breed dissension and might conceivably lead to civil war. On the other hand Mr. Morley, as chief secretary for Ireland, in the course of an earnest speech, declared that "in resisting the establishment of a domestic legislature for Ireland you are doing exactly what the desperadoes referred to by Mr. Trevelyan, armed with their dynamite and their daggers, would most desire". On the third night of the debate Churchill cleverly

exposed some of the inconsistencies of the bill. On the last night, Harcourt, sensible, perhaps, of the awkwardness of his position, indulged chiefly in personalities and banter, and was answered by Goschen and Hicks Beach. Gladstone wound up the debate with the assertion that his plan held the field, though it might be improved by the wisdom of the house; and he pointed out that, until the Irish problem was solved, it was useless to think of legislation for England. He hinted that the assumption of customs and excise by England and the exclusion of the Irish members from Westminster might be regarded as open questions. No division was taken.

Public opinion in England as represented by the London press, as a rule was hostile to the home rule bill; but outside London and in Scotland the newspapers were much divided. Ireland was ranged into two bitterly hostile camps. Liberal unionism came to birth at a remarkable meeting held in Her Majesty's Theatre on April 14, where the chair was taken by Earl Cowper, Gladstone's lord-lieutenant in 1880; and on the platform the English liberals and radicals were represented by Lord Hartington, Goschen, and Rylands, and the English and Irish conservatives by Lord Salisbury, Smith, and Mr. David Plunket. This demonstration was followed by a meeting of liberal peers at Derby House attended by Derby, Selborne, and Argyll. The consciousness of impending defeat appeared to oppress the prime minister when, on April 16, he introduced his land purchase bill in an unusually obscure speech. The house was astonished at the outset by the announcement that the cost of expropriating the landlords had been altered, in consequence of Mr. Chamberlain's objections, from £120,000,000 to £50,000,000. Selling landlords could claim from the treasury consols at par to the amount of twenty years' purchase of the judicial rent with certain payments such as the tithe charge deducted. The state was to take over encumbrances, and either pay them off or pay interest, mortgagees being forbidden to foreclose. Tenants would become proprietors immediately, and in the end freeholders, subject for forty-nine years to a quit-rent or redemption payment equal to three-fourths of the judicial rent, except in the congested districts where the cottiers would continue to hold at a beneficial rent. The redemption money would be held by a receiver-general, who would hand over the

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surplus to the Irish treasury, after prior claims had been discharged.

The noise of battle rolled through the country during the Easter recess. Local liberal associations passed resolutions in the prime minister's favour, including the Birmingham "two thousand," though that body contrived, at the same time, to pass a vote of unabated confidence in their member, Mr. Chamberlain, who still described his opposition to the home rule bill as caused less by the bill itself than by the conviction that it was merely a step towards complete separation. The national liberal federation also gave its support to the principle of the bill. The liberal unionists, Lord Hartington and Goschen, made effective speeches against the bill, Goschen, in particular, throwing himself into the contest with much energy and argumentative power. Lord Salisbury's intervention at a public meeting, just after the beginning of the debate on the second reading, was not fortunate. His policy was that parliament should enable the government of England to govern Ireland. "Apply that recipe honestly, consistently, and resolutely for twenty years and at the end of that time you will find that Ireland will be fit to receive any gifts in the way of local government or repeal of coercion laws that you may wish to give her." There were races, he declared, like the Hottentots, and even the Hindoos, incapable of self-government. He would rather spend treasure on the emigration of a million Irishmen than in buying out the landlords.[1]

The second reading of the bill was originally fixed for May 6, the anniversary, as Randolph Churchill promptly reminded the government, of the Phœnix Park murders. It was postponed until the 10th. Gladstone then explained, in carefully guarded terms, the alterations he was prepared to make in the measure. But the fate of the bill was virtually settled by the decision of the dissentient liberals. On May 14 a meeting was held at Devonshire House, summoned by Lord Hartington and attended by Mr. Chamberlain and many more. The chairman declared that he could not bring himself to vote for the second reading, even if the government promised to withdraw the bill and to bring it forward at an autumn session.

[1] Speech at St. James's Hall, May 15.

Mr. Chamberlain expressed concurrence, and a separate meeting of his adherents raised the number of dissentients to close upon a hundred. On the previous day Bright wrote privately to the prime minister, declining to support him. "I cannot consent," he wrote, "to a measure which is so offensive to the whole protestant population of Ireland, and to the whole sentiment of the province of Ulster so far as its loyal and protestant people are concerned. I cannot agree to exclude them from the protection of the imperial parliament. I would do much to clear the rebel party from Westminster, and I do not sympathise with those who wish to retain them, but admit that there is much force in the arguments on this point which are opposed to my views upon it." With Bright adverse, Gladstone's position was indeed practically hopeless.

The government, however, prolonged the debate, as Gladstone thought it possible to win votes by an undertaking to withdraw the bill after the second reading, and bring in another with such amendments as might recommend it to liberals. It was not till nearly a month later that the final scene came, the division being taken early on the morning of June 8. Gladstone closed the debate with a striking and characteristic speech. Once more he impressed upon the house that the question involved was simply the principle of the bill as distinct from its particulars, and that any amendments would be carefully considered. To describe the measure as separatist was the slang of vulgar tongues. He led up to his peroration by saying that one of the golden moments in the nation's history had been reached. "Go to the length and breadth of the world, ransack the literature of all countries, find if you can a single voice, a single book, in which the conduct of England towards Ireland is anywhere treated except with profound and bitter condemnation. Are these the traditions by which we are exhorted to stand? No, they are a sad exception to the glory of our country. They are a broad and black blot upon the pages of its history, and what we want to do is to stand by the traditions of which we are the heirs in all matters except our relations with Ireland, and to make our relations to Ireland to conform to the other traditions of our country. So we treat our traditions, so we hail the demand of Ireland for what I call a blessed oblivion of the past. She asks also for a boon for the future; and that boon

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for the future, unless we are much mistaken, will be a boon to us in respect of honour, no less than a boon to her in respect of happiness, prosperity, and peace. Such, sir, is her prayer. Think, I beseech you; think well, think wisely, think, not for the moment, but for the years that are to come, before you reject this bill."

The division placed the government in a minority of thirty, the numbers being, for the second reading, 313, against 343. No less than ninety-three liberals voted with the majority, and eight were known to have voluntarily stayed away. Next day the cabinet met, and Gladstone persuaded his colleagues that dissolution was preferable to resignation. He thought there was little chance, if any, of a conservative majority in the new parliament.[1] The decision was announced in both houses on June 10, and after disposing of non-contentious business they rose on the 25th. It was the shortest, and, so far as regards leg slation, the most barren parliament of the reign.

The electoral campaign in Ireland may be said to have begun with an incident typical of the times. The pent-up passions of Belfast boiled over at last, and street fighting was waged in a prolonged and desperate fashion. The rioting continued, with intermissions, from June 3 to August 18, the severest engagement being on the 11th of the latter month when no less than eleven persons were killed and many wounded. A commission of inquiry, appointed in the following October, reported that the Orangemen had begun the disturbances, and that they had been encouraged by weak magisterial action. The parliamentary representation of Ireland was not materially changed. Mr. Sexton gained the important seat of West Belfast, and Mr. Justin M'Carthy won Londonderry after a petition, but Mr. Healy and Mr. William O'Brien were beaten for Ulster constituencies. In England Randolph Churchill issued an address full of invective, in which the home rule bill was denominated "a farrago of superlative nonsense" designed "to gratify the ambition of an old man in a hurry". He played an important part in keeping together the conservative and liberal unionist alliance. The compact that neither section should oppose the other was studiously respected nearly everywhere; but its main-

[1] Morley, *Gladstone*, iii., 342.

tenance was difficult in Birmingham, and there his good offices were of value. On the platforms one of the most useful assets of the opposition was the reputation for supreme common-sense and integrity of Lord Hartington. His speeches told, notably when he met Gladstone's claim to have been in sympathy with the nationalists for fifteen years with the remark that, in that case, the premier's responsibility was great in acquiescing silently in the avowed convictions of his colleagues who were in favour of resistance to home rule. Lord Salisbury disregarded precedent and took a prominent part in the election, placing in effective contrast his policy of "twenty years of resolute government" with Gladstonian coercion when "a thousand men were imprisoned without trial for a political object".

But more disastrous to the Gladstonians than any platform oratory were the letters of John Bright. With unerring precision the veteran "tribune of the people" defined the apprehensions and dislikes of the British electorate. Gladstone involved himself in a damaging controversy by resenting as a "gross charge" Bright's statement, made when returning thanks for his unopposed election, that Gladstone had concealed his thoughts in the previous November. "Surely," ran Bright's reply, "when you urged the constituencies to send you a liberal majority large enough to make you independent of Mr. Parnell and his party, the liberal party and the country understood you to ask for a majority to enable you to resist Mr. Parnell, not to make a complete surrender to him. You object to my quotations about a conspiracy 'marching through rapine to the break-up of the United Kingdom,' and you say that there is now no such conspiracy against the payment of rent and the union of the countries. I believe that there is now such a conspiracy; and that it is expecting and seeking its further success through your measures. You complain that I charge you with a want of frankness in regard to the land purchase bill. You must know that a large number of your supporters are utterly opposed to that bill; if you tie the two bills together their difficulty in dealing with them will be much increased, and their liberty greatly fettered."

Against this formidable combination Gladstone relied upon his own inexhaustible energies and unequalled powers of persuasion. Wherever he went victory followed. An invertebrate

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politician retired from the candidature of Leith, after Gladstone had announced that he would stand against him; he visited Edinburgh, and Goschen was defeated for the eastern division of that city. But he could not make himself ubiquitous, and he failed to define his position sufficiently to convince an electorate utterly unprepared for his complete reversal of policy. Again and again he vehemently maintained that his bill was the only possible alternative to the conservative policy of coercion; but vagueness characterised his utterances when he came to the modifications he was willing to introduce into his scheme. At the Edinburgh Music Hall he said: "The ministerial bill is dead with the parliament, but the principle of the bill survives," and he added: "I will never accept a new plan unless it be better than the old one". His language, as Bright bluntly told him, was rather a puzzle than an explanation.

The elections began on July 1, and continued during the greater part of the month. From the outset the unionist combination gained a considerable advantage in sixty unopposed returns against sixteen Gladstonian. The boroughs went decidedly in its favour. Birmingham was solidly unionist, and the representation of London was changed from twenty-five liberals and thirty-seven conservatives to fifty-one unionists and eleven Gladstonians. The English and Welsh boroughs, which in 1885 had returned a hundred and twenty-two conservatives and a hundred and twenty liberals, now sent to Westminster a hundred and fifty-three conservatives, twenty liberal unionists, and only sixty-nine Gladstonians. The counties followed them, after the Rossendale division of Lancashire had set the example by returning Lord Hartington despite the opposition of the local liberal council. Even in Scotland Gladstone's following was reduced from 61 to 42. The final result was 316 conservatives, 78 liberal unionists, and 191 Gladstonian liberals, while the Parnellites numbered 85. The combined unionists had a majority computed at 118 over the Gladstonian and nationalist supporters of the Irish policy of the government. After a short deliberation the cabinet resolved on resigning without meeting the new parliament. On July 30 Gladstone had his final audience with the queen, who barely touched on politics. She had manifested the deepest dislike to the home rule scheme throughout the session, and had remained entirely

unconvinced by Gladstone's arguments. Even apart from home rule she was very little in sympathy with the retiring prime minister. "His mind and opinions," he wrote, "have been seriously warped, and I respect her for the scrupulous avoidance of anything which could have seemed to indicate a desire on her part to claim anything in common with me." She had, however, expressed an appeal to the constituencies, deeming it undesirable to involve the country in the excitement of a general election twice within a space of nine months, and believing that the home rule question had been effectually disposed of by the rejection of the bill in parliament.[1] But the defeat of the ministry at the polls caused her unconcealed satisfaction, and it must have been with a feeling of intense relief that she accepted Gladstone's resignation and sent for Lord Salisbury. CHAP. XVII.

[1] See Queen Victoria, p. 634.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE UNIONIST PARLIAMENT.

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MR. GLADSTONE'S resignation was tendered to the queen on July 20, 1886; on the 26th Lord Salisbury, at Osborne, kissed hands as first lord of the treasury. Before accepting the task of forming an administration he had been in consultation with Lord Hartington. As the conservatives numbered less than half the house of commons, the balance of power was in the hands of the seventy-eight liberal unionists. In these circumstances, said the new premier, addressing a party meeting at the Carlton Club on the day following his acceptance of office, he had considered that the unionist party (that is, the combined conservatives and liberal unionists) would best be led by Lord Hartington, and he had accordingly done all in his power to secure that result, but without success. This failure was not owing to the action of the conservatives. They were prepared, in spite of their superior numbers, to serve under Lord Hartington. At a meeting of the liberal unionist party held at Devonshire House on August 5, the day of the meeting of parliament, Hartington explained his reasons for declining the offer made to him by Salisbury. As the great bulk of the unionists were conservatives he deemed it right, he said, that the ministry should be formed from their ranks. The liberal unionists did not intend to cease to be liberals, and it would be in the power of his hearers to prevent a conservative government adopting a retrograde policy. Moreover, the maintenance of the liberal unionists as a body separate from the conservatives "afforded a basis for the reconciliation of the whole liberal party on sound principles".

Lord Salisbury was thus compelled to form an administration on purely party lines. Of his colleagues in his first cabinet

the most important had been Lord Randolph Churchill, Sir Michael Hicks Beach, and Mr. W. H. Smith. After the party meeting at the Carlton, Salisbury sent for Sir Michael and Lord Randolph. To the former the prime minister again offered the leadership of the house of commons. The offer was declined, Sir Michael recognising that his younger colleague must take the first place.[1] Churchill consented to become leader on the condition that Hicks Beach chose the post of chief secretary for Ireland. The matter was arranged accordingly. Lord Randolph—still a young man of six-and-thirty—became chancellor of the exchequer, to the perturbation of the financial and commercial classes and the apprehension of the treasury office. Lord Salisbury did not, as he had done in 1885, take the foreign secretaryship, that post being filled by Lord Iddesleigh, who was to act under the premier's directions.[2] Smith became secretary for war, and Mr. Henry Matthews, at the instance of Lord Randolph, home secretary. Mr. Matthews, who had never before held office, was a successful barrister, and a Roman catholic, who had been elected for a Birmingham division with the help of Mr. Chamberlain. Among the other ministers were Mr. A. J. Balfour, secretary for Scotland, and Mr. C. T. Ritchie, president of the local government board.

Parliament met on August 5 for the swearing-in of members, but it was not until the 19th that the queen's speech was read. Ministers proposed to do nothing more than complete the necessary financial business of the year, which had been interrupted by the general election; but the extreme tension in Irish circles was reflected in persistent obstruction by nationalists, who were aided by Mr. Labouchere and other radical members, and it was not until September 25 that the session closed. On the Irish question the cabinet took up a waiting attitude. Mr. Gladstone having become leader of the nationalist party, said Lord Randolph, the government must take it for granted, till the contrary was proved, that the home rule agitation had become constitutional and therefore the existing law ought to suffice. The ministerial policy was to give Ireland no special privilege, but to ensure as far as possible "equality, similarity,

[1] *Lord Randolph Churchill*, ii., 125.

[2] See letter from Churchill to Salisbury in *Lord Randolph Churchill*, ii., 161.

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and simultaneity of treatment in the development of a genuinely popular system of government in all the four countries of the United Kingdom".

That the management of Irish affairs would test severely the character and capacity of the new ministry was obvious from the first, for if England had declared strongly against separation, the nationalist majority in Ireland showed no diminution, and the country itself was in a state of turmoil and agrarian distress. Parnell, who declared that he wanted "a quiet winter," introduced a tenants' relief bill, which proposed to enact that, on payment of half rent and half arrears, proceedings for the recovery of the remainder should be suspended: virtually it was a scheme to reduce rents 50 per cent. at the option of tenants. This measure was rejected by the commons on September 22, by 297 votes to 202. The day before the division the government announced the appointment of a royal commission, under the presidency of Lord Cowper, to inquire into land rents and land purchase, and the commission set to work immediately. The nationalists, however, met the rejection of Parnell's bill by a variant of the former no-rent manifesto. On October 21, the *United Ireland*,[1] the organ of the national league, printed a "Plan of Campaign" for agrarian tenants who were, in their own opinion, paying too high rents. The "plan," put into operation against good as well as bad landlords, consisted in a combination by tenants to offer their landlords what they considered a fair rent. If the amount tendered was refused, the money was lodged with a representative of the national league, to be used for the purposes of the campaign. This scheme, for which Parnell disclaimed responsibility, was met by the landlords by evictions, and as the winter advanced the condition of Ireland grew worse. On December 17, acting on a decision of the Irish judges, the government proclaimed the "plan" as illegal.

Two days before Christmas the political world was startled by an announcement in the *Times* that Lord Randolph Churchill had resigned his post of chancellor of the exchequer, and with it the leadership of the house. Lord Randolph's selection for those offices had been regarded with misgiving, but his conduct

[1] The issue of the paper containing the "plan" is dated October 23, 1887, but it was actually published on October 21.

of affairs during the six weeks' session had amply justified Sir Michael Hicks Beach's act of abnegation. On October 2, he had made a notable speech at Dartford, foreshadowing a reform of parliamentary procedure, the remodelling of local government and local taxation, and several other measures, conceived on the lines of "tory democracy," and very disquieting to many conservatives. At Bradford, on the 22nd, he triumphantly defended the Dartford programme at the annual meeting of conservative associations, and reduced his critics to silence. Nothing had happened, so far as the public was aware, since the Bradford conference to alter the political situation. Therefore the announcement that he had resigned office was completely unexpected. The *Times*, which derived its information direct from Lord Randolph, stated that he retired because he was "unwilling to burden the national finances with the sums deemed necessary by the admiralty and war office for the defence of the country," and that he was also dissatisfied with the shape the legislative measures for the ensuing session had assumed. These reasons did not appear to justify resignation, and Lord Randolph's action revived all the latent hostility entertained towards him by influential sections of the conservative party. So great, nevertheless, was his power over the electorate, so manifest his mastery of the house of commons, that it was felt his resignation might well involve the downfall of the ministry unless Lord Salisbury came to terms with him. That neither event happened was due, largely, to the over-confidence of Lord Randolph in the strength of his position.

The story of the resignation has been told fully and authoritatively by Mr. Winston Churchill, who states that in this encounter his father "set his own unaided personal power to back his opinions, and awaited the issue with an easy mind".[1] Though the differences between the chancellor of the exchequer and his colleagues were many, the direct cause of rupture was on the question of expenditure upon armaments. For "Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform," Randolph Churchill seems to have had some genuine sympathy. He disliked "bloated armaments" and had small regard for a "spirited foreign policy" on the Disraelian lines. In the autumn of 1886 the situation

[1] *Lord Randolph Churchill*, ii., 273.

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in South-Eastern Europe had again become menacing. In August Prince Alexander of Bulgaria had been overthrown by a revolution fomented by Russian agents; he was carried off to Russian territory, and returned to his own dominions only to abdicate. The Bulgarians, however, declined to submit to Muscovite dictation; the Sobranje declared the principality independent, and the declaration, approved by Austria, excited the anger of the tsar. A Russian occupation was threatened and there were grave fears of an European war. Lord Randolph protested against Great Britain being drawn into this complication, and in his letters to Lord Salisbury he complained that Iddesleigh "kept rushing in where Bismarck feared to tread," and that while encouraging the Bulgarian patriots the foreign secretary had neglected to secure the support of Germany in opposition to Russia. In any case he was convinced that England ought not to fight over Bulgaria, and he insisted on a reduction of military expenditure, in order, during this crisis in the near east, to emphasise the pacific policy of the government. From the middle of November his colleagues knew that the resignation of the chancellor of the exchequer was probable. Smith, while declining to reduce the army estimates, offered to resign, but Lord Randolph "would not hear of it".[1] So, without waiting to know what the decision of the cabinet would be, he himself threw up his post: in the expectation of being asked to come back on his own terms.

Salisbury faced the situation with characteristic courage. No overtures were made to Lord Randolph, who on his part took no steps to organise any party in his favour, and, as the event proved, was still to be reckoned among the parliamentary supporters of the ministry. At the moment of his resignation this could not be known, but the probable difficulties were easily foreseen. Gladstone was in fact revolving schemes to support Lord Randolph as a champion of economy, and Mr. Chamberlain's sympathies were entirely with him.[2] All this Salisbury shrewdly guessed and he turned for help to the whig unionists. His offer to resign the premiership in favour of Lord Hartington was declined; but Goschen, with the "entire concurrence" of Lord Hartington,[3] accepted the post of chancel-

[1] *Military Life of the Duke of Cambridge*, ii., 336.
[2] *Lord Randolph Churchill*, ii., 252. [3] *Times*, January 19, 1887.

lor of the exchequer on January 3, 1887. Goschen's financial ability and his power as a debater gave renewed strength to the ministry, which he joined as a liberal unionist. The Churchill crisis had been weathered. The new chancellor of the exchequer had some difficulty in securing a seat. A vacancy occurring in a division of Liverpool, where the Gladstonians had obtained a majority of 170 at the general election, Goschen contested the constituency, but was defeated by seven votes. A fortnight later, February 9, he was elected unopposed for St. George's, Hanover Square.

The prime minister endeavoured though without success to induce Lord Lansdowne and Lord Northbrook, liberal unionist peers, to accept office in his cabinet. Considerable remodelling of the ministry was however effected. Smith was selected as leader in the commons, taking the post of first lord of the treasury, which Salisbury relinquished; the prime minister deciding to become foreign secretary himself in place of Lord Iddesleigh. At the war office Smith was replaced by Mr. Edward Stanhope, who was succeeded at the colonial office by Sir Henry Holland. Lord Iddesleigh's resignation of the foreign office was not due to his own suggestion and it caused among his personal friends considerable soreness. He had been offered a choice of less onerous posts, such as that of lord privy seal, but these he declined. On January 11, 1887, he sent a note to political friends at Exeter concerning his resignation—written in perfect loyalty to his party and without a trace of bitterness—and on the next day he took leave of the staff of the foreign office. He then walked across to No. 10 Downing Street to visit Lord Salisbury; but on mounting the stairs he was seized with syncope and died in a few minutes in the presence of the prime minister. He had long suffered from disease of the heart and no doubt the strain of political anxiety had been telling severely upon him for some time. He had indeed been treated with scant consideration by some of his colleagues, and both Salisbury and Randolph Churchill felt some justifiable remorse at his death. Stafford Northcote was one of the most chivalrous high-minded, and amiable of the statesmen of the Victorian era, and his personal character commanded the esteem even of his rivals and his opponents. As a financial administrator of the Gladstonian school he had

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shown much ability. As foreign secretary he was scarcely efficient, and Salisbury could not be blamed for compelling him to give up this office, though the retirement might have been arranged in a less abrupt fashion.

Lord Randolph's action had had other effects besides those already indicated. For a few weeks it looked as if his resignation would lead to a healing of the breach between the Gladstonian liberals and the unionist radicals. Speaking at Birmingham on the evening of the day on which the resignation was announced, Mr. Chamberlain dwelt on the altered situation the incident had created, and it caused him to emphasise his agreement on many points with the views of the larger section of the liberals. Referring to Irish affairs, he said: "I am convinced that sitting round a table and coming together in a spirit of compromise and conciliation almost any three men, leaders of the liberal party, . . . would yet be able to arrange some scheme which would . . . make in a short time the Irish tenant the owner of the land which he cultivates".[1] This speech was interpreted by the Gladstonians as holding out a flag of truce; and at Harcourt's suggestion a discussion, known as the round table conference, was held at his house in London between Mr. Chamberlain and Sir George Trevelyan on the one side and Sir William Harcourt, Mr. John Morley, and Lord Herschell on the other. The first sitting took place on January 13. The conferences were continued, with some approximation to agreement, until February 25 when the provisional result was submitted to Gladstone. On the same day an article by Mr. Chamberlain appeared in the *Baptist* newspaper, stating that British reforms were being delayed by Irish obstruction. The article gave great umbrage to the Gladstonians and the conference ended, and with it all prospect of a reunion of the liberal party. One of the unionist negotiators, however, Sir George Trevelyan (he had succeeded to a baronetcy on the death of his father the previous year), announced his conversion to home rule.

The parliamentary session of 1887 was opened on January 27. It was mainly devoted to Irish affairs. A prolonged debate on the address was followed by fifteen nights' consideration of the new rules intended to facilitate the transaction of busi-

[1] *Times*, Dec. 24, 1886.

ness and to put an end to obstruction, an ideal not destined to be realised. Eventually the "closure" rule was adopted. The debates on procedure being ended, the parliamentary board was cleared for the consideration of a new "coercion" bill, which was known as the crimes act, 1887. This measure, called for by the increasing lawlessness in Ireland, was introduced by Mr. Arthur Balfour on March 28. Mr. Balfour, who had at Lord Randolph Churchill's request,[1] been given a seat in the cabinet in November, 1886, had accepted at the beginning of the month the office of chief secretary for Ireland on the enforced retirement, owing to failing eyesight, of Sir Michael Hicks Beach on March 5. The new chief secretary, on taking up an office in which so many political reputations had been wrecked, acted with a vigour, firmness, and directness that left no doubt of his intention to maintain at any cost the supremacy of the law in Ireland.

The new crimes bill followed in the main the lines of previous acts, but it contained a provision, bitterly assailed from the Irish and radical benches, making it part of the permanent law of the land. Its passage through the house was very stormy. It was accompanied by a series of articles in the *Times* against the nationalists headed "Parnellism and Crime". The first article published on March 7, accused Parnell and his associates of having founded an organisation, the Land League, "depending upon a system of intimidation carried out by the most brutal means, and resting ultimately on the sanction of murder". On April 18, the day fixed for the division on the second reading of the crimes bill, the *Times* published the facsimile of a letter bearing date May 15, 1882, with the alleged signature of Parnell, in which the writer appeared to apologise for having as a matter of expediency openly condemned the murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke, though he in fact thought that Burke had deserved his fate. The same night in his place in parliament Parnell declared the letter to be a forgery; but the immediate effect of the *Times* charges was to weaken the opposition to the crimes bill. The second reading was agreed to by 370 votes to 269. Obstruction on the committee stage was prolonged and forced the

[1] *Lord Randolph Churchill*, ii., 222.

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government to introduce a motion of unprecedented character in restriction of debate—the "guillotine" resolution—whereby clauses remaining undisposed of on a given day are put without amendment or debate. Smith's motion to this effect, brought forward on June 10, was not opposed by Gladstone, who foresaw the necessity he might be under to use the "guillotine" himself, and it was carried by 301 votes to 181. Eventually the crimes bill became law on July 19.

Meantime a land law (Ireland) bill had passed through the house of lords. It was brought in on March 31, and was based partly on the recommendations of the Cowper Commission, which, with exemplary promptitude, had issued its report in February. The bill, as introduced, extended to lease-holders the benefits of the land act of 1881, and thus met one of the chief grievances of the tenants. In the relief it afforded to really over-rented tenants the act did much to neutralise the plan of campaign agitation. Its effect, however, could not be manifest immediately, and in the autumn of the year the struggle in Ireland between the government and the supporters of the "plan" was at its height. Under the provisions of the crimes act the national league was, on August 19, proclaimed a dangerous association. Many meetings of the league were suppressed and many of the agitators arrested. Among those prosecuted was Mr. William O'Brien, M.P. On September 9, the day of the first hearing of the charge against him at Mitchelstown, county Cork, a lamentable collision occurred between the populace and the police, in the course of which the constabulary fired on the crowd, killing one man and mortally wounding two others. The death of the three men created intense excitement not only in Ireland but at Westminster. Gladstone seized on the incident to denounce with great vehemence the whole conduct of the Irish administration and called on his followers to "remember Mitchelstown". After a lengthy inquiry, conducted with both passion and prejudice, the coroner's jury brought in a verdict of murder against six policemen. But no trial followed, the verdict being set aside by the queen's bench in Dublin, on February 10, 1888, on the ground of the many irregularities in the conduct of the inquisition.

The agitation in Ireland had been strengthened by numerous meetings held by the Gladstonian liberals in various parts of

England in denunciation of the government's "coercion" policy. In London the socialist organisations took advantage of the home rule propaganda for their own purposes. A Trafalgar Square demonstration against the proclamation of the national league was held on August 27, and it was arranged to hold another meeting in the same place on Sunday, November 13, nominally "to demand the release of Mr. William O'Brien, M.P., and other patriots"; in reality to test the right of public meeting in the square. In November the commissioner of police issued a notice provisionally prohibiting assemblies in Trafalgar Square, but the promoters of the demonstration persisted in endeavouring to hold the meeting, with the result that there was a collision between the violent section of the mob and the police, and a number of persons were injured. The most prominent leaders of the demonstrators were arrested. They were Mr. R. B. Cunninghame Graham, M.P., and Mr. John Burns; the latter destined eighteen years later to become a cabinet minister in a liberal government. Tried by an Old Bailey jury they were convicted on January 18, 1888, of taking part in an unlawful assembly and were sentenced to six weeks' imprisonment.

Although in 1887, as Lord Salisbury declared at a public meeting, "politics" meant Ireland and nothing else, the year was notable for other events. On June 20 Queen Victoria completed the fiftieth year of her reign. The celebration of the jubilee did much to strengthen the deep impression of the importance of an imperial policy made on the public mind by the African scramble initiated by Germany in 1884, and of the vastness and resources of the empire as exemplified at the Indian and Colonial Exhibition held the previous year at South Kensington and visited by 5,500,000 persons. The celebration took various forms—in India 25,000 prisoners were released—but the chief event was the thanksgiving service held in Westminster Abbey on June 21. The queen drove to the abbey surrounded by foreign princes, and Indian feudatories in gorgeous costumes. The procession was witnessed by an immense multitude, perhaps the largest number of persons ever assembled in the streets of London, and it passed through the long ranks of spectators amid deep and touching manifestations of personal loyalty and affection; and within the abbey there was gathered a congregation of 10,000 persons, drawn from

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almost every quarter of the empire. On July 14 the queen laid the foundation stone of the Imperial Institute. A naval review at Spithead on the 23rd demonstrated, to Europe as well as to the public at home, the strength of the first line of defence. The most significant commemoration of the queen's jubilee was, however, neither ceremony nor building, but the meeting in conference in London (during April and May) of representatives of the mother-country and of the self-governing and other colonies. Colonial defence, imperial penny postage, and other matters were discussed.

In other ways the year forms a landmark in the history of the empire. Negotiations with Germany, France, and Portugal concerning the spheres of influence in Africa of Great Britain and those powers were constant and caused much anxiety. The somewhat minatory attitude adopted by Prince Bismarck towards Lord Granville in 1884 was little modified towards his successors. Lord Iddesleigh as foreign secretary had concluded, in October, 1886, an agreement with Germany concerning East Africa, which, but for the prompt action of a Scottish merchant, Mr. William Mackinnon, might have shut out Britain from the Upper Nile. Mr. Mackinnon, however, in May, 1887, obtained a concession from the Sultan of Zanzibar and formed the Imperial British East Africa Company, which received a royal charter on September 3, 1888, to develop British interests. He was also the chief financial supporter of an expedition for the relief of Emin Pasha, governor of the Egyptian province of Equatoria, then isolated by the Mahdists, which left England early in 1887 under the command of Henry Morton Stanley, a famous African explorer. Stanley was given authority to conclude with chiefs living in the region of the Nile lakes treaties by which they placed their lands under British protection, and these treaties he passed over to the East Africa Company. In this manner, and with Lord Salisbury's concurrence, were the first steps taken to obtain for Great Britain the control of the Upper Nile.

In South Africa, as well as in the east, 1887 saw an extension of British influence. Portugal was making claims to Mashonaland and Matabeleland, based on flimsy evidence of

[1] See Sir E. Hertslet, *The Map of Africa by Treaty*, ii., 626.

ancient occupation; but these claims Lord Salisbury brushed aside, informing the Portuguese government in August, 1887, that the Zambesi must be regarded as the natural northern limit of British South Africa.[1] To make good British claims the Rev. J. S. Moffat, assistant commissioner in Bechuanaland, was sent to the kraal of Buluwayo, where on February 11, 1888, Lobenguela, the Matabele chief, put his mark to a treaty by which he agreed not to enter into relations with any foreign power without the sanction of Great Britain. Another factor destined to have far-reaching consequences was the appearance of the Transvaal as a gold-producing country on a large scale. The "banket" reef on the Witwatersrand had been discovered in 1885, and Johannesburg was founded in 1886; but it was not until the closing months of 1887 that the gold output from the Rand attracted much attention. In May of that year the yield was 887 ozs. only, in December it had risen to 8,457 ozs. The presence in the Transvaal of a large foreign element, mainly British, brought thither by the development of the gold-mining industry, speedily raised difficulties of a serious nature. But in 1887 the clash of the newer with the older civilisations in the Transvaal was not recognised as inevitable; neither could the public imagine the dreams of empire nourished by Cecil Rhodes in consequence of the acquisition of Matabeleland.

The anxiety of Lord Salisbury concerning foreign affairs did not diminish in 1888. A serious cause of dispute with Russia was removed by the delimitation, in a sense favourable to the amír, of the Russo-Afghan frontier. Some controversy arose with France concerning Madagascar, where British interests were seriously threatened, and the situation was aggravated by the menace to the stability of the Republic involved in the sudden popularity of General Boulanger, a theatrical adventurer, who for a time seemed to have a chance of establishing a military dictatorship in France. A series of unfortunate incidents caused much bitterness between Great Britain and Germany. Bismarck was ostentatiously cultivating the friendship of Russia, and to gratify that power prevented the projected marriage between the Princess Victoria of Prussia and Prince Alexander of Battenberg, the ex-Prince of Bulgaria, whose kidnapping and

[1] Scott Keltie, *The Partition of Africa*, 2nd ed., p. 408.

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enforced abdication in August and September, 1886, had been the work of Russophiles.

On the death of the aged Emperor William I. of Germany on March 9, 1888, the Crown Prince Frederick ascended the throne. In the new empress (the Princess Royal of England) the German chancellor affected to see an agency at work inimical to Germany; and his animosity was increased by the arrival of an English surgeon, Sir Morell Mackenzie, to attend the emperor, who was suffering from cancer. His disease would have precluded him from the succession and would therefore have been prejudicial to his wife's interest; but Mackenzie, who was sent over by Queen Victoria, maintained that it was not cancer, in opposition to the German doctors in attendance on the patient. Public feeling in both countries was a good deal exited over this unhappy affair. The queen, who had gone to Charlottenburg to visit her son-in-law, had an interview with Bismarck on April 25 and used the weight of her great influence to promote a better understanding between the two countries. But on the death of the emperor on June 15 there was a renewed anti-British outburst in the German press. Though the new monarch, William II., was believed to share Bismarck's views in the squalid controversy which raged round his father's death-bed, the efforts of Lord Salisbury gradually brought about an amelioration in the relations with Germany, a result facilitated by the tardy perception in Berlin that it was desirable to come to an amicable arrangement with Great Britain concerning the African colonies.

The parliamentary session of 1888, which opened on February 9, was prolonged until Christmas eve, with an interval of fifty-three days from August 13 to November 6. This session was unmarked by the recriminations and violent scenes which had made its predecessor notorious, but discussion of the important measures introduced was so lengthy as to draw from the leader of the house the epigrammatic utterance that "the eloquence of parliament was getting in the way of its wisdom". Various bills dealing with social and commercial questions were carried. Of the measures which reached the statute book none could compare in importance with the act establishing county councils throughout England and Wales, transferring to these new elective boards many of the functions previously exercised

by the justices at quarter sessions. The bill, introduced by Mr. Ritchie, president of the local government board, on March 18, received the royal assent on August 13. Under this act London was made a separate administrative county, and to the new council was transferred all the powers of the metropolitan board of works, which ceased to exist. The London county council was not, however, given control of the police, and the city of London retained most of its ancient rights and privileges.

In Ireland the year was marked by the continuation of the struggle for the supremacy between the government on the one side and the national league on the other. Mr. Balfour maintained the authority of the law with determination. Many Irish members of parliament were arrested and imprisoned for taking part in proclaimed meetings or for participation in the plan of campaign. The nationalist party received a blow in the early part of the year which caused great dismay in its ranks. Pope Leo XIII., acting as it was assumed at the instigation of the British government, despatched as legate to the Irish bishops Monsignor Persico, "a man of tried prudence and discretion, with the commission to use the greatest diligence in ascertaining the truth"[1] concerning the plan of campaign and boycotting. The result of Monsignor Persico's investigations was seen in a papal decree of April 13 prohibiting tenants from adopting the plan of campaign, and denouncing boycotting as against the principles of natural justice and Christian charity.[2] But the papal allocution had little effect. On May 17, forty Irish catholic members of parliament met at Dublin and passed a resolution expressing regret that the holy office was silent as to the provoking cause of the evils and disorders in Ireland, and asserting that "Irish catholics can recognise no right in the holy see to interfere with the Irish people in the management of their political affairs". The sympathy and help of the Irish Roman catholic episcopate were almost entirely on the side of the nationalists. Strong pressure was exercised on the pope to modify his attitude, and in a letter made public in July he wrote that Ireland should see in the decree "our love for herself and our desire to promote

[1] Extract from letter from Leo XIII. to Irish bishops; see *Times*, July 16, 1888.

[2] *Freeman's Journal*, April 27, 1888. The text of the decree is given in *Le Pape Léon XIII.*, by Mgr. de Serclaes, i., 510.

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the prosperity she hopes for". Finally it was explained by the Roman catholic journal, the *Tablet*,[1] that in what he had done Leo XIII. was only anxious to keep the cause for which Ireland was struggling free from reproach.

On July 2, 1888, there came on for trial before Lord Chief Justice Coleridge an action for libel instituted by Mr. Frank Hugh O'Donnell against the *Times*. The plaintiff conceived himself to be one of the persons included in the charges brought by the newspaper against the Parnellites. His action failed, but the trial was remarkable for the production by the counsel for the *Times*, Sir Richard Webster, the attorney general, afterwards Lord Alverstone and lord chief justice, of further letters alleged to have been written by Parnell, tending to prove his condonation of crime. Parnell had displayed an impassiveness in the face of the damaging imputations made against him, which was variously regarded as evidence of haughty magnanimity or hardened insensibility. It was probably due to a reluctance, based on certain private relations with which his accusers were acquainted, to endure cross-examination as a witness in a court of law. But the publication of the new batch of incriminating letters stirred him to action. The day after Sir Richard Webster's speech he went to Mr. John Morley "to say that he thought of sending a paragraph to the newspapers that night, with an announcement of his intention to bring an action against the *Times*, narrowed to the issue of the letters".[2] He had refrained from taking action before because he did not believe that he would secure justice from a Middlesex jury, a view in which his friends concurred, and Mr. Morley now urged this argument with success. At his suggestion Parnell, on July 6, made a personal statement in parliament emphatically repudiating all knowledge of the letters; and three days later he asked for a select committee to inquire into their authenticity. This was refused by the government, who however brought in and carried a bill, without precedent in our constitutional history, creating a special commission of three judges to inquire into the whole of the charges levelled against the Irish members in "Parnellism and Crime". This tribunal, consisting of Sir James Hannen, Mr. Justice Day, and

[1] January 5, 1889. [2] Morley, *Gladstone*, iii., 394.

Mr. Justice A. L. Smith, held its first sitting on September 17, 1888, and its final sitting on November 22, 1889. CHAP XVIII

No one affected to care much for the involved story of Irish agitation and crime unfolded before the commission, or even the startling revelations of the work of the Irish-American dynamitards. Public interest centred in the question of the authenticity of the alleged Parnell letters. When this part of the case was reached it appeared that certain forged documents had been credulously received by the management of the *Times* as genuine. On February 18, 1889, Richard Pigott, an Irish journalist, who had supplied letters which the *Times* published, was called to give evidence. His story as to the manner in which he had obtained these letters was entirely unworthy of credit, and before the conclusion of his cross-examination he absconded. He was last in court on February 22. The next day, a Saturday, Pigott called at the house of Mr. Henry Labouchere, who besides being an advanced radical member of parliament was also the editor of a weekly journal, and dictated a statement in which he confessed to having fabricated the "facsimile" and certain other letters. On the Monday Pigott wrote a note to the Dublin solicitor of the *Times* stating that his confession of forgery was not true. The same day he fled to Paris and thence to Madrid, where, on March 1, he shot himself on learning that a police officer had arrived with a warrant for his arrest.

After the drama and the tragedy of the Pigott revelations, there was little in the proceedings of the special commission to attract attention; but the inquiry dragged slowly on and the commissioners did not issue their report till February 13, 1890. They stated that all the letters produced by Pigott were forgeries and acquitted Parnell of having personally approved of the Phœnix Park murders, or being in any way connected with the crimes of the Invincibles. As to the other "charges and allegations" of the *Times*, the commission found most of them proved. Mr. Davitt, Mr. Dillon, Mr. William O'Brien and others (but not Parnell) were held to have established and joined in the land league, with the intention, by its means, of bringing about the absolute independence of Ireland as a separate nation; the respondents generally were declared to have entered into a conspiracy, by a system of coercion and intimidation,

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against the payment of agricultural rents; to have disseminated newspapers tending to incite to sedition; to have directly encouraged intimidation and persisted in it with knowledge that it led to crime and outrage; and to have invited and obtained the co-operation of the physical force party in America, including the Clan-na-Gael.[1]

The presentation of the report to parliament was followed by a notable debate in the commons. On March 3 Smith proposed a motion that the house thanked the judges, adopted the report, and ordered it to be entered in the journals. To this Gladstone moved an amendment reprobating the false charges, based on calumny and forgery, brought against members of the house, and expressing regret for the wrong inflicted and the suffering and loss endured by reason of these acts of iniquity. On the 10th Gladstone's amendment was rejected by 339 votes to 268. The next day Lord Randolph Churchill made a furious onslaught upon the government's action in the matter; but Smith's motion was agreed to by a majority of sixty-two. The *Times* had to defray the expenses of the inquiry amounting to £250,000. To Parnell the newspaper paid £5,000, in settlement of an action for libel instituted after the counsel for the *Times* had withdrawn from the case before the special commission all the Pigott letters.

Apart from the time devoted to "Parnellism and Crime" the parliamentary sessions of 1889 and 1890 presented a few points of permanent interest. In 1889 the reformation of local government on county council lines was extended to Scotland, which country further obtained the boon of free elementary education. For naval defence a scheme, known after the first lord of the admiralty as the Hamilton programme, was agreed to, involving the building of seventy new ships and the expenditure of £21,500,000 beyond the ordinary estimates. Military affairs occupied much of the attention of parliament. In 1887-1888 Mr. Stanhope, the secretary for war, had concentrated all military responsibility to the secretary of state in the person of the commander-in-chief, and in a minute of December 8, 1888, he had endeavoured to define the duties of the British army. Earlier in the same year a royal commission had been ap-

[1] Report of the Special Commission, 1888, pp. 119, 120.

pointed under Lord Hartington to inquire into the administration of the military and naval departments. It reported on May 11, 1890, against the concentration of responsibility in the commander-in-chief, at the same time recommending the creation of a chief of staff and a permanent war office council. Several of the commissioners' recommendations were adopted; and to their report was due the formation of the national defence committee, composed of members of the cabinet and high officials.

In colonial and in foreign affairs the two years 1889 and 1890 were periods of importance. No sooner had Mr. Moffat obtained his treaty with Lobenguela[1] than efforts were made to get the Matabele chief to grant concessions to white traders. After many trying experiences, agents sent to Buluwayo on behalf of a company, of which the leading member was Cecil Rhodes, succeeded in October, 1888, in obtaining a concession of all mining rights. Rhodes was a remarkable man, destined to play a great part in South Africa during the next few years and to leave his impress on the map of the continent. He had gone to the Cape in early manhood, had drifted up to Kimberley, had there speedily acquired some wealth and considerable influence, and was already a person of importance in colonial politics when Sir Charles Warren expelled the Boer raiders from Bechuanaland in 1884. Then he formed a close association with the group of financiers who were the first to exploit the riches of the Transvaal goldfields. He made a large fortune; but the acquisition of money was not his main object. He cherished the dream of consolidating all the South African states and territories, and of extending British dominion into the vast savage tracts towards the north, towards which foreign eyes had already been turned. His curiously attractive and forcible personality, and his imaginative idealism which was not inconsistent with some lack of intellectual precision and of ethical scruple, gained him enthusiastic and admiring adherents. Backed by powerful interests in the City and in London society, Rhodes applied for a charter giving the company sovereign powers.

It was a period when government by chartered company

[1] See *supra*, p. 399.

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had received new life; liberal ministries had given charters to the North Borneo Company (1881) and the Royal Niger Company (1886), and the charter of the British East Africa Company was but a few months old. The government, too, shrank from the heavy expense involved in direct administration and, after some hesitation, a royal charter was granted on October 29, 1889, to the British South Africa Company. To this company was committed the destinies of the large territory known afterwards as Rhodesia. Portugal, angry at being excluded from Mashonaland, sent a force to the frontier, and collisions between the Portuguese and the settlers occurred. More serious was the Portuguese endeavour to disturb by armed force the Scottish missionaries and traders established about Lake Nyassa. On January 15, 1890, Salisbury demanded the immediate recall of the Portuguese forces "from places under British protection or influence". The Portuguese ministry hesitated, partly from fear of popular resentment, and Salisbury caused an ultimatum to be delivered at Lisbon requiring Portugal's acceptance of the British demands within twenty-four hours. Thus beset the Portuguese government yielded, and on August 20 an agreement was made by which Portugal's historic claims were fairly met, while Northern Rhodesia and Nyassaland were secured for Great Britain.

At the same time negotiations with France and Germany were also proceeding, and these terminated in agreements which in great measure settled the partition of Africa. In December, 1889, Stanley[1] had reached Bagamoyo, after a march right across Africa, bringing with him Emin Pasha and a batch of treaties. The time was ripe for a settlement with Germany, and this was accomplished by an agreement signed on July 1, 1890. In the interim a notable event had occurred. The German Emperor had dropped the pilot who had guided the destinies of his country so long: on March 17 Prince Bismarck had ceased to be chancellor; and though Count von Caprivi succeeded to the office, it was really William II. who himself directed the foreign policy of his country. The agreement he concluded with Lord Salisbury marked the limits of German East Africa and German South-West Africa. It abandoned

[1] See *supra*, p. 398.

German claims to Uganda and the Upper Nile, and recognised a British protectorate of Zanzibar. By way of compensation England ceded to Germany the island of Heligoland, a possession long desired by the Germans, since in hostile hands it might serve as a naval base for an attack on Hamburg, or on the Kiel Canal, then in process of construction. The transfer took place on August 9, 1890. Scarcely less important than the agreement with Germany was that concluded with France on August 5 of the same year. Recognition of the French protectorate in Madagascar was balanced by the recognition of the British position in Zanzibar. More valuable was the French acknowledgment of the efficacy of the work of Sir George Goldie and the Niger Company, shown in the clause of the agreement which excluded France from the Hausa States and Bornu, while leaving to that nation the Sahara desert: light soil, in which, as the wits of the Paris boulevards said, adapting one of Lord Salisbury's phrases, the Gallic cock might scratch.

In October, 1890, Gladstone undertook another of his great oratorical campaigns in Midlothian. The home rule or Gladstonian liberals, as it had become the fashion to call them, were in a state of hopeful expectation. Distrust of coercion in Ireland and the exposure of the Pigott forgeries had weakened the government; and ever since the defeat of 1886 Gladstone had been reorganising his forces. In this task he encountered great difficulty, largely because several of his colleagues held diametrically opposite opinions on the question of the retention of Irish members at Westminster after the grant of home rule. A conclave of Liberal leaders at Hawarden in the autumn of 1889 had decided on their retention though with numbers reduced; a decision lamented by Sir William Harcourt as "a fatal and irretrievable error".[1] And Sir William's views were shared by Lord Herschell and, to some extent, by Lord Granville. Later in the same year (on December 18 and 19) Parnell had been the guest of Gladstone at Hawarden, and had discussed with him the outlines of the next home rule bill. The Gladstonian-Parnellite understanding was at its strongest when Gladstone made his Midlothian campaign the following October, and spoke of the "sham majority in Westminster

[1] Fitzmaurice, *Granville*, ii., 496 (letter to Lord Granville, October 27, 1889).

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passing laws and giving votes totally opposed to the convictions of the people".[1]

Before November was out the situation had entirely changed; in Mr. Morley's words, "a blinding sandstorm swept the ground". On the 17th Captain O'Shea, who had been regarded as a political follower and even a confidant of Parnell, obtained a decree *nisi* in the divorce court against his wife, Parnell being co-respondent. The petition for divorce had been filed on December 24, 1889, five days after Parnell's visit to Hawarden. When the trial came on and the action was found to be undefended, wrath and consternation seized the English allies of the Irish nationalists. Some good people were sincerely shocked, believing that bad morals implied bad politics; others, who disliked home rule, industriously fanned the flame. Prompt action was imperative, as parliament had been summoned to meet for an autumn session on November 25. Gladstone hesitated for some days as to what course to take. But many of his followers in the press and the constituencies ignored political exigencies in their indignation, and were quite determined to make no terms with the violator of the domestic sanctities. The nonconformist Gladstonians loudly demanded that their party should have no dealings with the unclean person; and it was widely felt and said that unless Parnell retired from the leadership of the home rule group, the success of the cause would be set back for a generation.

Parnell assumed a defiant attitude. "The English wolves howl for my destruction," was his comment; in Ireland it seemed for a time that his position was unshaken. Gladstone, who at first had "declined to be a censor and a judge of faith and morals,"[2] held a conference with Lord Granville and with the liberal whips on November 24, and it was decided that action must be taken against Parnell.[3] Accordingly Gladstone wrote a letter to Mr. Morley stating that Parnell's continuance as leader of the nationalists would render his own leadership of the liberal party "almost a nullity". Efforts were made privately to induce Parnell to retire. They met with no success, and Gladstone's letter was published in the newspapers on November 26. There-

[1] Speech at West Calder, October 23, 1890.
[2] Morley, *Gladstone*, iii., 435.
[3] Fitzmaurice, *Granville*, ii., 488 and 499.

upon acute dissension arose within the Irish party, which had the day before re-elected Parnell as its leader. Meetings were held in a committee-room of the house of commons to consider the leadership of the party, and stormier gatherings can seldom have been brought together within the precincts of parliament. For nearly a fortnight the nation watched with intense eagerness the battle that raged upon the floor of Committee-Room Fifteen. Parnell refused to resign, and fought with desperate tenacity to maintain the supremacy he had held so long. He sought to strengthen his position by declaring in a "manifesto to the Irish people"[1] that the "English leaders intended to play Ireland false"; but the Roman catholic bishops turned against him, and the majority of the nationalist members of parliament followed their lead. Against twenty-six, whose fidelity to their chief was unshaken, forty-four members decided on December 6 to support him no longer, and with this section Gladstone continued to co-operate. But it was to him a heavy blow—"the heaviest I ever received," he wrote to Lord Acton. Mr. Justin M'Carthy became leader of the majority of the nationalist members. CHAP. XVIII.

The Parnellite split was the unionists opportunity. It gave them renewed confidence, and enabled them to make substantial headway with their legislative programme. With the nationalists engaged in furious controversy upstairs, the address in reply to the speech from the throne was voted after a few hours' debate, an event which had not happened for fifteen years. A feature of the session was the mortality among members of parliament: indeed the number of eminent public men who died between January, 1891, and February, 1892, was remarkably large. On January 30, 1891, died Charles Bradlaugh, who in later years had earned the regard of the whole house. Three days before his death the commons expunged from their journals the decision taken eleven years before not to allow him either to affirm or take the oath. Two months later Lord Granville died, a diplomatist who had had the misfortune to be pitted against Prince Bismarck at a critical period of colonial development, and who, moreover, was blamed for a policy which was not his but that of the cabinet as a whole.[2] But he was a high-minded

[1] Published Nov. 29, 1890.

[2] See letter from the Duke of Argyll in the *Times* of April 16, 1891.

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and accomplished statesman, who served the state with fidelity, and a capable foreign minister with a good understanding of international affairs. He was much under the influence of Gladstone and swayed by him at times against his own judgment, especially in domestic politics, which he had never seriously studied. On May 5, just after his appointment as archbishop of York, died Dr. Magee, not only a great ecclesiastic but a power in the house of lords, and by some considered the greatest orator who had spoken in that assembly since the days of Chatham.

Later in the year and on the same day—October 6—there died both William Henry Smith and Charles Stewart Parnell. Smith, despite his lack of oratorical gifts, had proved an admirable leader in the commons. His obvious devotion to "queen and country" (with him a favourite phrase), his consideration for opponents as well as colleagues and supporters, his integrity and plain commonsense, had won for him universal esteem. Parnell's death, within a year of the unhappy exposure which had cost him so much, was hastened by the strain and fatigue of his bitter struggle in Ireland against his former followers, a struggle in which he was continually worsted, but which he carried on with undaunted courage. The cold and haughty reserve, by which he had maintained his autocratic ascendancy over his party before the catastrophe, had given way to a passionate volubility. He raged and raved his way about Ireland in frantic endeavours to convince Irish nationalists that they were being betrayed by the treachery of the priests and the English liberals. He met with little success and wore himself to the grave in his efforts. So passed away at the age of forty-six the strongest and the strangest of Irish political leaders, the man who without a touch of the sympathetic national qualities of O'Connell had gained an influence, alike in Ireland and in English politics, more potent than that of the great Celtic agitator. A Protestant and a landlord, the "uncrowned king" had nevertheless been enthusiastically accepted as the representative of their aspirations by the Roman catholic peasantry; and by his organising ability and his talent for direction and control he had brought home rule from the clouds and made it the living issue in the English party conflict. His disappearance left a void which could not be filled; but Mr. John Redmond succeeded to his leadership of the "Parnellite" group, which for some years

longer remained aloof from the majority of the nationalist members.

On Smith's death, Mr. Balfour was chosen leader of the house of commons, vacating his office of chief secretary for Ireland and becoming first lord of the treasury on November 24 in his uncle Lord Salisbury's cabinet. The selection, which, in Lord Randolph Churchill's view, put an end to "tory democracy, the genuine article,"[1] was inevitable. Neither Goschen nor Sir Michael Hicks Beach, who on the restoration of his health had become president of the board of trade in February, 1888, could vie in popularity with their younger colleague, whose ability had been revealed by five years' strenuous work at the Irish office. In this difficult post he had acquired a very high reputation; for while he had firmly upheld the law and repressed disorder, he had endeavoured to grapple with the causes of Irish discontent by improving the material condition of the peasantry, especially in the congested, poverty-stricken districts of the west. In the autumn of 1890 he visited these districts himself, and as a result of his investigations he instituted a series of relief works which did much to alleviate the distress caused by a failure of the potato crop the following year. In this session of 1891 Mr. Balfour was on sufficiently good terms with the Irish members to carry his land purchase bill through the house of commons without much difficulty. The measure was intended to facilitate the conversion of the Irish tenants into owners of their holdings and was liberal in its terms. If the landlord were willing to sell, the entire purchase-money could be advanced by the exchequer, and the tenant would become absolute owner after forty-nine years, paying four per cent. interest to the state in the meanwhile. The total amount expended by the treasury was not to exceed thirty millions. Mr. Balfour piloted this bill through the house with tact and dexterity; and when he resigned the chief secretaryship he had gained the respect of the Irish members and the regard of the Irish people.

Not only in the Irish and conservative parties did death cause a change in the leadership. Four days before Christmas the death of the seventh Duke of Devonshire, at the ripe age of

[1] *Lord Randolph Churchill*, ii., 452.

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eighty-three, removed the Marquis of Hartington to the house of lords, and left to Mr. Chamberlain the command of the liberal unionists in the commons. To that office Mr. Chamberlain was formally elected by his colleagues on February 8, 1892. The next day parliament met for its last session previous to the general election, which it had been decided to hold in the late summer. The speech from the throne opened with a paragraph "in the queen's own words" respecting the death of the Duke of Clarence, the elder son of the Prince of Wales, at the age of twenty-eight. In December the betrothal of the duke to his cousin, Princess May of Teck, had been announced; but while preparations for the marriage were being made, the bridegroom-elect was smitten with influenza and pneumonia, and died on January 14. On the day of the young prince's death there passed away the aged Cardinal Manning, who had not many months survived his great compeers Newman and Döllinger. And on the last day of January died Charles Haddon Spurgeon, the most powerful and popular nonconformist preacher of his generation.

The parliamentary session of 1892 was conducted under the shadow of dissolution, and as the main issue of the general election was again to be home rule, the ministry, by introducing a bill establishing in Ireland the county council system, with many administrative restrictions, indicated the extent of the local government they were prepared to grant that country. This Irish local government bill was not pressed beyond second reading; but an act was passed applying to Ireland the educational reforms already granted to England and Scotland. During the session Mr. Chamberlain sought to draw from the Gladstonians explicit declarations as to their home rule policy, but the effort was unsuccessful. Gladstone and his colleagues were not, in fact, in agreement on important points in the Irish scheme. Though he kept home rule in the forefront, Gladstone also appealed for support on a programme drawn up at the party convention held in Newcastle the previous October. The "Newcastle programme" was a comprehensive attempt to bring together the various sections of the liberal and radical party by giving something to each of them; hence it included disestablishment of the Church in Wales and in Scotland, a local veto on the sale of intoxicating liquors, improved registration of voters,

and the abolition of the plural franchise. Articles for defining employers' liability and for limiting the hours of labour, were intended to conciliate the trade unions and labour organisations, which had grown rapidly since 1889, when a great strike of dock labourers in London revealed the strength of the socialistic feeling among the unskilled working-men. The programme however was not a success. Many of the moderate liberals, including some of Gladstone's most influential parliamentary supporters, distrusted the concessions offered to the extreme radical element. Many liberals, too, resented the attack on the Church, which went far to complete the process of bringing over almost the entire body of the Anglican clergy to the conservative side in politics. The local option proposal also raised against the liberals the most powerfully organised trade in the country. The "liquor interest" was henceforth engaged for the tories, and it played no small part in the ensuing election. And not a few voters, who were alive to the evils of excessive drinking, disliked the idea of rendering it possible for a majority of ratepayers in any locality to prohibit the sale of an article of common consumption, which seemed to them not temperance but tyranny.

The conservative leaders appealed for support mainly on two grounds: first, their opposition to home rule; secondly, their record of work done. On the former ground, Lord Salisbury was emphatic as to the peril to the loyal minority involved in the grant of Irish autonomy. For the loyalists of Ireland, he said, a wrong decision meant "bitter and protracted struggles culminating probably in civil war".[1] As to the second point, Mr. Balfour said the government claimed to have carried more beneficial legislation than any of its predecessors during an equal period of time.[2] This was going too far; but the government's legislative and administrative record had been creditable, especially during the last two sessions.

In preparing his budget for 1890, Goschen found himself with a surplus of three million and a half and was able to make substantial remissions of taxation, including a reduction of the tea duty by twopence a pound. An extra tax of sixpence a gallon on spirits, known as "whisky money," originally intended

[1] Manifesto of June 28, 1892.

[2] Election address dated June 24, 1892.

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as compensation for the reduction of licenses, and a third of the sum obtained from the duty on beer, were handed over to the county councils for promoting technical education. In 1891 the chancellor of the exchequer could dispose of a surplus of £2,000,000, and the cabinet determined to employ it to relieve parents from the payment of fees for children attending public elementary schools. Education rendered compulsory twenty-one years earlier was now also to become free. The step had long been urged by the liberals; and though some conservatives viewed it with disfavour, as tending to weaken parental responsibility, there was no serious opposition to the bill, which was accepted as the natural sequel to the act of 1870.

There was a similar consensus of influential opinion in regard to the factory act of 1891 in which the home secretary had the support of liberals and liberal unionists as well as conservatives. The act limited the hours of labour for women to twelve a day, with an hour and a half for meals, and enforced various sanitary regulations and precautions. It also dealt with some of the evils of subcontracting and "sweating" and raised the minimum age of employment for children in factories to eleven. Another useful reform of this session was the tithes act which at length did away with a long-standing source of friction in the rural districts, especially in those in which the nonconformists formed the majority. The tithe, under the commutation act of 1835, was a fixed charge upon the rent, which was collected from the tenant. The burden actually fell upon the landlord; and it was now decided to make this clear, and remove the alleged grievance, by rendering the landlord responsible in all cases for the payment. The tenants did not really benefit and the Church did not suffer; but dissenting farmers no longer felt that they were paying towards the support of a religious communion to which they did not belong, and there were no more tithe riots such as had recently disturbed the peace of Wales. Just before they went out of office, on July 21, 1892, ministers obtained the royal assent to the small holdings act which enabled county councils to borrow money on the security of the rates for the purpose of buying land for agricultural holdings not exceeding fifty acres in extent. The landlord received three-quarters of the price from the county council, and one-quarter from the purchasing owner,

who might also obtain an advance from the council for building a cottage. The bill was in charge of Mr. Henry Chaplin, who had entered the cabinet in August, 1889, as president of a new ministry or department of state called the board of agriculture.

The creation of this office was to some extent a recognition of the factors which the last franchise act had introduced into the electorate. Both parties were becoming acutely conscious of the growing political activity of the agricultural labourers as well as the rising numbers and wider demands of the urban workmen. The labourers, who had learnt the value of organisation, were assiduously courted by the party leaders. If Gladstone, who in reality cared little for anything but home rule at this time, was ready to promise parish councils and the provision of allotments, the unionists were inclined to offer small holdings and old age pensions. There was perhaps more understanding among the influential conservatives and their liberal unionist allies of the tendencies which were beginning to develop in the industrial classes; some of them, including Lord Salisbury himself, bestowed a guarded patronage upon the incipient revolt against the rule of free contract and free trade, and dabbled hesitatingly in what their opponents, still wedded to the orthodox individualism, branded as state socialism and protection. The era of political was passing into that of social reform; but neither of the two great parties was quite prepared to accept the change. The liberals were still intent on the extension of political equality and the abolition of privilege; the conservatives, though many of their younger men were keenly anxious to improve the condition of the people, were clogged by the weight of propertied and vested interests which clung round them. Home rule and the reaction against Gladstone's foreign policy, the rising spirit of imperialism, and a certain apprehension of the newly enfranchised electors had driven the majority of the educated and propertied classes into the unionist camp. The new voters, however, were not united under the opposing banner. By a large proportion of the urban artisans and the rural labourers, the old liberal ideas were not enthusiastically endorsed, though there remained much of the traditional feeling that the liberals and radicals were on the whole more "popular" in their sympathies than the party specially favoured by aristocratic and moneyed

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society. The strength of the Gladstonians lay in the nonconformist trading community; though even here there were many still unreconciled to Irish home rule.

The dissolution came on the same day that the session ended, June 28. Gladstone confidently calculated on obtaining a majority of eighty or 100.[1] The election opened on July 1 with the unopposed return of Lord Randolph Churchill, and as day by day the results came in "the illusory hopes of many months faded into night," so far as concerned the British home rulers. At Midlothian Gladstone's majority fell from over 4,000 to 690. Disappointed as the Gladstonians were they had still a net gain of fifty-five seats. The majority against them in England was seventy-two; but in the "Celtic fringe" it was otherwise, and with the aid of eighty-one Irish nationalist votes there was a majority of forty in favour of home rule. This general election was notable for the first appearance of the independent labour party in parliament. Miners' delegates and an agricultural labourer had, it is true, been elected before; but those members had identified themselves with the radical wing of the liberals. Now four members—Mr. John Burns, Mr. Keir Hardie, and two others—secured election, regarding it as their duty "to sit in opposition until they crossed the house to form a labour government".[2] Significant as this movement was, the labour party was as yet too weak to achieve much, and was indeed destined to wait thirteen years longer before it rallied to itself any great body of voters.

Instead of resigning at once the government met the new parliament. On August 8 the queen's speech was read. Mr. Asquith moved an amendment to the address expressing want of confidence in her majesty's advisers. The division was taken on the 11th, when the government were defeated by forty votes —350 to 310. On the 15th Lord Salisbury informed the house of lords that he had resigned. On the 18th the session of parliament closed, and on the same day Mr. Gladstone accepted his appointment as first lord of the treasury, and for the fourth and last time set about the task of forming a ministry with himself as chief.

[1] Morley, *Gladstone*, iii., chap. vii.
[2] Speech by Mr. Keir Hardie, August 11, 1892.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE CLOSING DECADE.

In determining, as he did, to make home rule the cardinal feature of his administration, Gladstone was guided both by necessity and honour. Yet it was well known that the liberal successes at the polls had been gained in spite of rather than because of Gladstone's Irish policy, and among liberal politicians there was a disposition to postpone the attempt to pass a home rule measure. But how, argues Mr. Morley, who shared the intimate counsels of his chief, could Gladstone refuse to submit his Irish policy to parliament after the bulk of the nationalists had quitted their own leader, Parnell, in absolute reliance on his sincerity and good faith?[1] In constructing his cabinet the prime minister was hampered by the smallness of the liberal majority and the necessity of conciliating every section of his supporters. He had, therefore, to take as colleagues some men with whom he would have preferred to dispense. Mr. Morley returned to the Irish office, being, as Gladstone expressed it, chained to the oar. Earl Spencer was made first lord of the admiralty and Mr. Campbell-Bannerman secretary for war. Sir William Harcourt became chancellor of the exchequer. The new home secretary, Mr. H. H. Asquith, like his predecessor, Mr. Matthews, was a leader at the bar who had not previously held office. He had first entered parliament in 1886 as an avowed home ruler, and was an advocate of "home rule all round," coupled, however, with the "unimpaired supremacy" of the imperial parliament.[2] On foreign and colonial affairs he was in sympathy with Lord Rosebery, who once more became

[1] Morley, *Gladstone*, iii., chap. vii.

[2] See speeches at Oxford, June 9, 1889, and at Westminster, April 14, 1893.

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foreign secretary. Lord Rosebery was a supporter of imperial federation, and he favoured the maintenance of the British position in Egypt and the expansion of the empire generally: views which were not fully shared by the prime minister, nor by Mr. Morley nor Sir William Harcourt. It was said at the time of the general election—and said, there is reason to believe, with truth—that if Gladstone had obtained a majority of more than fifty Lord Rosebery would not have been included in the cabinet.[1] In the result there was no option but to secure his co-operation. On August 17, 1892, within a week of Lord Salisbury's resignation, the names of the chief members of the new government were announced.

The cabinet was hardly formed when differences arose within it regarding the retention or non-retention of Uganda. The decision was of importance in itself, and of interest as determining which school of liberalism was to prevail in the conduct of foreign affairs: the one group looking with distrust upon the extension of imperial responsibilities and burdens,[2] which the other section surveyed with pride rather than apprehension. The crisis had arisen through the financial straits into which the British East Africa Company had fallen. Lord Rosebery's insistence on the necessity of retaining the territory overcame the reluctance of his colleagues, Sir William Harcourt among them, who favoured abandonment. On October 20 the foreign secretary informed a deputation from the anti-slavery society that he regarded Uganda "as the key, perhaps, of Central Africa, as commanding the Nile basin, as a field recently of heroic enterprise, as a land that had been watered by the blood of our saints and martyrs"—a reference to the work accomplished by missionary effort—and he expressed his personal opinion that "having put our hands to the plough in that great enterprise we shall not be able, even if we were willing, to look back". So indeed it proved, and after a mission of inquiry conducted by Sir Gerald Portal in 1893, the final decision to hold the country was taken, though the formal proclamation of a British pro-

[1] See the *Times*, August 13, 1892.

[2] Mr. Asquith, some years later (July 19, 1901), when the differences between the two sections had become acute, angrily charged the anti-imperialist liberals with regarding the empire "as a regrettable necessity to be apologised for as half blunder, half crime".

tectorate over Uganda was not made until June 19, 1894, after Gladstone's retirement.

The second home rule bill was introduced by Gladstone on February 13, 1893. It had been prepared by a committee of the cabinet consisting of the prime minister, Mr. Morley, Lords Spencer and Herschell, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, and Mr. Bryce. It was not, as had been the case with the bill of 1886, accompanied by a measure dealing with Irish land purchase, and it differed mainly from the earlier bill, which had excluded the Irish members from Westminster, in providing that Ireland should send eighty representatives to the imperial parliament, who would, however, vote only when matters in which Ireland was concerned were under debate. The demand for an express assertion of the imperial supremacy was met by putting a declaratory phrase in the preamble. As in 1886, the army and navy, customs, trade, and foreign relations were excluded from the purview of the Irish legislature. With these limitations Ireland was to be granted an autonomous administration.

The passage of the bill through the house occupied eighty-five sittings. Gladstone, despite the weight of his eighty-three years, piloted the measure in its various stages with amazing vigour and sustained energy. The bill received the grudging support of the Parnellites, Mr. John Redmond regarding it as "only an instalment"; but it met with somewhat warmer approval from the Anti-Parnellites, and Mr. Davitt went so far as to declare that it contained all the terms and conditions of an honourable and lasting compact between the people of Ireland and Great Britain. On the debate for leave to introduce the bill Mr. Balfour spoke of it as an abortion, the result of reversing the process of evolution by which all great empires had been maintained, while Mr. Chamberlain emphatically declared that the supremacy of parliament, if the bill passed, would be an unsubstantial pageant, "the baseless fabric of a vision". The bill having been read a first time without a division on February 17, the second reading debate opened on April 6 when Sir Michael Hicks Beach moved the rejection of the measure. After twelve days' debate the second reading was carried on the 21st by 347 votes against 304.

The struggle in committee began on May 8. In the interval since the second reading the unionist leaders had held

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conferences concerning the character of the amendments they should submit to the house. Day by day until June 28 the house discussed the bill in committee and had then reached but the fifth clause out of forty. This induced Gladstone to copy the "guillotine" process, invented by the unionist government in 1887 to pass the crimes act, and thenceforward the bill was closured in compartments. The chief alteration made in it was the omission of the "in and out" subsections of the clause concerning the Irish members at Westminster, the effect being that the eighty Irish members who were to be retained in the imperial parliament would be able to vote on every subject without restriction. The financial clause gave great trouble and had twice to be entirely remodelled. The rancour and heated feeling engendered on both sides of the house culminated in acts of personal violence on the night of July 27 fixed for the last day of the committee stage, the first recorded occasion of such conduct in the history of parliament. During the proceedings in committee the government majorities had fallen as low as fourteen and fifteen, and the third reading was carried on September 1 by thirty-four votes only.

In the house of lords the second reading was moved on the 5th by Earl Spencer, whereupon the Duke of Devonshire moved the rejection of the bill. Lord Rosebery pleaded that the Irish question might be settled by agreement between the two parties, as the franchise and redistribution bills had been in 1884, but he pleaded in vain. On the 8th the division was taken, when the bill was rejected by 419 votes to 41. So ended the second attempt of the Gladstonians to dissolve the Union formed by William Pitt and to set up an autonomous government in Ireland. Gladstone made no other effort, and the fate of home rule was sealed, so far as parliament was concerned, for many years to come. The rejection of the bill by the house of lords was taken very calmly, and the prime minister did not venture to embark upon a quarrel with the upper chamber on this issue. There is no doubt that the peers correctly interpreted the opinion of the electorate. The majority of Englishmen had not been converted to home rule, and many even of Gladstone's own followers in the constituencies accepted his Irish policy with reluctance.

Although the struggle over home rule was the most notable

event of 1893 the year witnessed important developments in Asia and Africa. In Siam a crisis arose which almost threatened war[1] with France. The friendship between the republic and Russia had given renewed strength to French colonial policy, and advantage was now taken of frontier disputes with Siam to enlarge the borders of French Indo-China. That the French and British frontiers should meet in such a region was highly undesirable. In April when the dispute between the Siamese government and the French became acute, a British gunboat was sent up the Menam river to Bangkok to watch events. To enforce their demands the French in July also sent gunboats up the Menam, having previously silenced the Siamese forts at the entrance to the river. On July 20 an ultimatum was delivered by France to the Siamese court, and this not being complied with fully, on the 26th a blockade was declared. Lord Rosebery instructed Lord Dufferin, the British ambassador in Paris, to inform the French foreign minister that "it would be impossible that her majesty's government should allow British subjects to be left at the mercy of an unruly Oriental population, and that therefore they cannot withdraw her majesty's ship now stationed off the city". His firmness was justified; the French foreign minister informed Lord Dufferin on the 31st that "as the blockade would be raised at once it was unnecessary to discuss the matter".[2] On the same day an agreement was reached for the maintenance of Siam as a "buffer state" between the French and British possessions. Throughout the dispute Lord Rosebery had advised the Siamese to agree with their adversary quickly, and on August 1 the French ultimatum was accepted, the blockade being raised two days later. The negotiations between London and Paris continued, and were finally brought to a satisfactory conclusion by Lord Salisbury on January 15, 1896.

South African affairs attracted much attention during the later half of 1893. Natal was granted responsible government in June. The prosperity of this colony and of all South Africa had developed rapidly with the constantly increasing output of the Witwatersrand gold mines, and in the Transvaal the "Uitlanders," as the non-Boer population was called, had become

[1] See speech by Lord Rosebery at Edinburgh, October 9, 1896.
[2] *Parliamentary Papers, Siam*, No. 1 (1894).

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numerically and financially powerful. Further north important events happened. For two years peace had been kept between the settlers in Mashonaland and the Matabele. But the situation was continually fraught with anxiety, and in July raids by Matabele impis on Mashonas under British protection brought matters to a crisis. Dr. Leander Jameson, administrator of the country for the chartered company, laid the facts before Cecil Rhodes, at that time prime minister of Cape Colony as well as managing director of the company. Imperial sanction for an advance into Matabeleland was given and the first engagement took place on October 15. The chartered company's troops occupied Buluwayo on November 4, and Lobenguela fled into the bush with a British patrol in pursuit. Thirty-three troopers of this force, under the command of Major Alan Wilson, with reckless daring pushed on to the *scherm* where the Matabele king, sick and wearied, was guarded by hundreds if not thousands of determined warriors. Surrounded on all sides by the natives, Wilson and his men fought on, making ramparts of the carcases of their dead horses, till all were killed, "grimly dying, still unconquered, with their faces to the foe," singing the national anthem as they fell. No further pursuit of Lobenguela was attempted, but before his ox waggons could reach the Zambesi, which he intended to cross, he died of disease in January, 1894. Matabeleland conquered, a scheme for its government by the chartered company was promulgated by an order in council of May 9, 1894; and Rhodes set himself to accomplish the great idea that he had entertained for years of turning the northern territories of South Africa into a field for British settlement and enterprise and connecting Cape Town with Cairo by railway.

In the midst of the home rule controversy and of foreign and colonial crises, George, Duke of York, the only surviving son of the Prince of Wales, was married to the Princess May, who had been betrothed to his elder brother, the Duke of Clarence. The marriage took place in London on July 6, 1893. A few weeks later on August 22 died the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, the queen's brother-in-law, and the succession to the German principality passed to her second son, the Duke of Edinburgh.

The prolonged debates over the home rule bill had caused supply and other necessary business to be delayed; and on

November 2, 1893, parliament reassembled for an autumn sitting which was prolonged until March 5, 1894, although contentious discussion was confined to two measures, the employers' liability and local government bills. The first-named measure, which was in charge of Mr. Asquith, abolished the doctrine of "common employment" and made certain classes of employers responsible for injuries sustained by their servants. An amendment by Mr. Walter M'Laren to allow contracting-out from the benefits of the act, in cases where employers contributed to mutual insurance funds which provided compensation for injuries or death, was rejected by 236 votes to 217. When the bill reached the upper house the "contracting-out" clause was, however, inserted on December 8 at the instance of Lord Dudley. Efforts to reach a compromise were made, but as the lords insisted on allowing employers to contract-out Gladstone abandoned the bill on February 20, 1894.

The local government bill furnished another cause of quarrel with the peers. The bill proposed to establish throughout England and Wales elective district and parish councils. After minute consideration and much alteration it passed the commons on January 12. The peers made many amendments, which the government refused to accept. On every point but two the lords eventually gave way. They insisted on raising the minimum population necessary to entitle a parish to have a separate council from 200 to 300; and on the withdrawal from the parish councils of the control of the parochial charities, other than ecclesiastical, with which the bill did not interfere. On the population point the lords had reverted to the original proposal of the government; and as to the charities the government itself had at first proposed that the councils should have only a one-third representation on the governing bodies.

This opposition deeply moved Gladstone, who had not forgiven the upper chamber for annihilating his home rule scheme. He had by this time persuaded himself, with his habitual facility in adapting general principles to his own requirements, that the refusal of the peers to agree on all points of legislative detail with a minister who commanded a majority in the commons, had raised a great constitutional question. He hinted at radical changes in the powers or composition of the upper house; and on March 1 he delivered a solemn indictment

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of the peers and uttered a "sorrowful declaration" to the effect that the differences between the two chambers disclosed "a state of things of which we are compelled to say that in our judgment it cannot continue". Nothing came of this attack; but it was an historic occasion, though at the moment it was not so felt. For this was the last speech of "the old man eloquent" in the house of commons, his last appearance on the stage he had trodden for over sixty years, where he had played parts so brilliant, so diverse, so strikingly contrasted with one another, and where he had so often attracted round his own commanding but strangely compounded personality the interest of the world.

Two days later he placed his resignation in the hands of the queen. He was eighty-four years of age, his hearing and eyesight were alike defective, he had done all that was in his power to carry his Irish policy and might well claim to be relieved of the burden of office. The breach he had caused in his party had never been healed and many of the most influential of his former associates were still alienated from him. Yet he did not resign because of these things. Gladstone strongly objected to the naval estimates framed by Lord Spencer for the financial year 1894-95 which showed an expenditure of £17,366,100, being £3,126,000 more than in the previous year. The increase was necessary; for the relative growth of the British navy had hardly kept pace with that of other powers. But Gladstone retained all his old objection to "swollen expenditure" on armaments. What, he asked, would be said in Europe of his active participation in a policy that would be taken as plunging England into the whirlpool of militarism? In the cabinet he laboured hard to convert his colleagues to his views, but with the majority he did not prevail. The effect was, "not to bring about the construction of an artificial cause, or pretext rather, of resignation, but to compel me to act upon one that was rational, sufficient, and ready to hand".[1] In his letter of resignation, however, he made no mention of the naval estimates, giving as his reason for retirement the condition of his sight and hearing. He had told Mr. Morley the day before that if the queen asked his advice he would recommend Earl Spencer as his successor. "As it happened, his advice was not sought."[2] Of his interview with the queen Gladstone wrote a

[1] Morley, *Gladstone*, iii., 506-7. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 512.

memorandum in which he stated that no reference was made to political affairs. "She confined her remarks to three or four perfunctory and colourless sentences." The fact was that the queen had been so much out of sympathy with Gladstone during his last tenure of office that she found it difficult to treat him with cordiality and she could not pretend to regret his retirement.[1] The audience ended, the queen sent a short note to the retiring minister, saying that after so many years of arduous labour and responsibility she thought he was right in wishing to be relieved of his duties, adding, "the queen would gladly have conferred a peerage on Mr. Gladstone but she knows he would not accept it". Queen Victoria and Gladstone appear to have met only on one occasion afterwards, at Cimiez, in February, 1897, when, Gladstone records, her majesty's manner was "very decidedly kind" and for the first time she gave him her hand.

It was a crisis of the kind which allows considerable discretion to the sovereign; since there was no leader of undisputed pre-eminence in the ministerial party. Many of the liberals, and probably the majority of the Gladstonian members in parliament, desired to see Sir William Harcourt at the head of the government. He was, however, unpopular with the imperialist group and with some important colleagues of his own who preferred Lord Rosebery; and it was that statesman to whom the queen offered the vacant premiership. Gladstone had seen the queen on Saturday, March 3; the same day the queen's offer was communicated to Lord Rosebery and accepted by him. On the Monday parliament was prorogued. A week later (March 12) the new session began. It was at once evident that the prime minister was under no illusions with regard to the Irish question. In the debate on the address he declared that he was in entire accord with Lord Salisbury in believing that before home rule was conceded to Ireland, "England, as the predominant member of the partnership of the three kingdoms, will have to be convinced of its justice".

The time of the commons was largely given to the consideration of the boldly conceived budget introduced by Harcourt, who had now become leader of the house. The finance

[1] Lee, *Queen Victoria*, p. 526.

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act, founded on the budget proposals, was Sir William's greatest legislative achievement. Its principal feature was the remodelling of the death duties in the direction of equalising the charges on real and personal property. The difference heretofore made between these kinds of property was abolished, the duty was made payable on the estate as a whole, and it had to be paid on its "principal value," *i.e.*, the selling value in open market, whereas the previous valuation had been on the worth of the estate to the recipient; and moreover the rate of duty was graduated from one to eight per cent. according to the amount of the estate. Exemptions and abatements were also made in the income tax, the general contention of the chancellor being that he had obtained additional revenue, for whilst the burden of the poorer taxpayers was lightened the death duties under the new scheme yielded over £4,000,000 more per annum. It was a distinctly "radical budget," and excited much dissatisfaction among property-owners, who contended that the new death duties might sometimes cause estates to be broken up or to be burdened for years with heavy liabilities. The finance bill was hotly contested in the commons and obtained its second reading on May 10, by a majority of fourteen only

In the autumn of 1894 the world became conscious of the existence of a new great naval and military power in Eastern Asia. A month before parliament rose on July 16, an important treaty was signed with Japan. It provided for the abolition, after the lapse of five years, of British consular jurisdiction in the island empire. Thus, first of the European powers, Great Britain acknowledged the right of Japan to a position of equality among the civilised nations. On August 1 war broke out between Japan and China on the question of the control of Korea. The campaign revealed the military impotence of China and culminated in the capture of Port Arthur by the Japanese on November 21. The war ended on April 15, 1895, with the cession to Japan of Formosa and the Liaio-Tung peninsula. But the successful combatant was not permitted to secure the full fruits of victory. Russia, having obtained the support of France and Germany, compelled Japan to relinquish Liaio-Tung. The eventual result of this high-handed intervention was the Manchurian war ten years later, in which Japan was amply avenged for the humiliation inflicted upon her by the European

military powers. At the time it helped to draw closer the friendly relations between Great Britain and Japan. It is worthy of note that this act of Russia's was the first important step taken by Tsar Nicholas II., who had succeeded to the throne on November 1, at the death of his father, Alexander III.

On January 24, 1895, Lord Randolph Churchill died at the age of forty-six. For three years he had suffered from a painful malady, and the end was not unexpected. The references made to him in parliament on the first night of the new session, which opened on February 5, bore witness to the impression he had made on his contemporaries. The tragic failure of his last years only seemed to throw into stronger relief the successes of his audacious and energetic prime. Little as he had in fact accomplished in comparison with what he had at one time promised to achieve, men could not forget that he had almost created one great party and almost controlled another. Whether he could have become a constructive statesman or a consummate administrator, he had small opportunity of showing; but he had some of the qualities of leadership—courage, insight, industry, quickness of apprehension, bold and ready speech, the power of influencing others—commingled with those of the reckless and often unscrupulous partisan. That he had ever really thought out his own conception of tory democracy may well be doubted; but also it is not doubtful that underlying his political inconsistencies and superficialities was a genuine sympathy with the ideal of popular government, a real dislike for privilege and oligarchy. His democracy was more sincere than his toryism; accident made him a conservative, but his convictions, so far as they were definite, were those of the older radicalism. Yet the part he played in the conservative revival during the parliament of 1880 was unquestionably important; he inspired the tory electorate with the charm of a vivid personality and held out to them once more the attraction of a fighting cause. His biographer may be justified in claiming for him that "at a time when liberal formulas and tory inertia seemed alike chill and comfortless, he warmed the heart of England and strangely stirred the imagination of her people".[1]

Randolph Churchill died a few months too soon to witness

[1] *Lord Randolph Churchill*, ii., 487.

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the return to power of the party to which he nominally belonged. The session of 1895 was troubled and disastrous for the liberals, whose position had been insecure throughout the course of this parliament. Among the various measures announced in the queen's speech the most ambitious were the Welsh disestablishment and the local veto bills. The latter was in charge of Harcourt, who was convinced, as he told Mr. Balfour,[1] that the salvation of the liberal party was to be found in the kind of social reform of which "local option" was an example. Like other measures devised by Harcourt in this later phase of his reforming energy, the bill dealt stringently with vested interests and roused much antagonism. The proposal to give the inhabitants of each locality the right to forbid the grant of licences for the sale of liquor was bitterly opposed by the brewers and was not popular with any section of the public, except the extreme advocates of temperance. The bill got no further than the first reading. The Welsh disestablishment bill, which included a large measure of disendowment, was read a second time on April 1, by 304 votes to 260, Mr. Chamberlain voting in the majority. This bill was in committee when the government was defeated.

The defeat was brought about in a debate on the army estimates. The demand for national efficiency had had its effect even at the war office. Attention had been again directed to the reform proposed by the Hartington commission,[2] and there was a popular cry to hold the high officials of the war office directly responsible for the duties assigned them, thus seriously diminishing the importance of the commander-in-chief. The Duke of Cambridge, seeing his office assailed, appealed, on May 4 to the queen, saying, "If I felt unequal to my duties from age [he was then seventy-six] I should unhesitatingly ask to be relieved from them, but this I don't at present admit". The appeal was unsuccessful, and on the 19th the queen, in a letter full of kindness, told the duke that, on the advice of her ministers, she had arrived at the decision that it was inexpedient for him to retain his position, subscribing herself, with unwonted warmth, "Always your very affectionate

[1] Speech by Mr. Balfour at Merchant Taylors' Hall, February 12, 1906.
[2] See *supra*, p. 405.

Cousin and Friend".[1] This decision the secretary for war, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, announced to the commons on June 21. The name of the duke's successor was not stated. Lord Rosebery had decided to recommend Sir Redvers Buller, and was only prevented from doing so by the fall of his government.[2] After Mr. Campbell-Bannerman had described the proposed modifications in war office organisation, Mr. Brodrick moved an amendment to the estimates to call attention to "the insufficient provision of small-arm ammunition," especially cordite. On a "snap" division, the amendment was carried by 132 votes to 125. The ministers could no doubt have reversed the vote by bringing up a full muster of their followers; but they had little inducement to remain in office and were not sorry to be released. The cordite vote was taken on Friday, June 21; on the Monday following Lord Rosebery announced that the government had resigned and that their resignation had been accepted. Lord Salisbury again became prime minister, the business of the session was wound up, and parliament was dissolved on July 8.

Nine years of co-operation had drawn very close the bonds connecting the two sections of the unionist party, and in forming his third administration Lord Salisbury secured as colleagues some of the chief men among his liberal allies. The Duke of Devonshire became president of the council and Mr. Chamberlain colonial secretary. Mr. Balfour resumed his former post as first lord of the treasury and leader of the commons, Sir Michael Hicks Beach became chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Goschen first lord of the admiralty, and Lord Lansdowne secretary for war. Salisbury again combined the foreign secretaryship with the post of prime minister. The general election was fought in July and ended in the complete triumph of the conservatives and liberal unionists, who obtained a majority of 152 over liberals and nationalists combined. The liberal downfall was in part attributable to dissensions within the ranks of the party, for while Lord Rosebery did not "greatly believe in"[3] the Newcastle programme (upon which most of the liberal

[1] *Military Life of Duke of Cambridge*, ii., 395.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 399.
[3] Speech in house of lords, August 15, 1895.

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candidates had appealed for votes), Sir William Harcourt was equally incredulous as to the merits of Lord Rosebery's imperial policy. The unionist party on the other hand was united and confident. Gladstone's disappearance from the parliamentary arena—for he did not seek re-election—was the most prominent personal feature of the contest. Next came the defeat of Harcourt at Derby on July 13 followed by that of Mr. John Morley at Newcastle, and of two other ex-cabinet ministers, Mr. Shaw Lefevre and Mr. Arnold Morley. Harcourt's reverse was unexpected and produced a deep impression. Mr. Morley's defeat was brought about by the independent labour party. That group also met with disaster, Mr. Keir Hardie being rejected at West Ham; but by running its candidates against liberals it secured some seats for conservatives. Before the election ended a seat was found for Harcourt in West Monmouthshire, and he was thus enabled to retain his position as leader of the liberals in the commons.

The new parliament met on August 12, and, after voting the supplies needed, was prorogued on September 5. In the house of lords on August 19 the Marquis of Lansdowne, as secretary for war, announced that Viscount Wolseley had been chosen to succeed the Duke of Cambridge as commander-in-chief. On one point closely connected with foreign affairs the government reversed a decision of their predecessors. For some years, save for an outbreak at Manipur in 1891, where British officers were murdered, there had been peace on the Indian frontiers. An arrangement had been made with the amír as to Anglo-Afghan boundaries, and an agreement signed with Russia as to frontiers in the Pamirs in March, 1895. In January, 1895, a civil war in Chitral, a state on the verge of the Pamirs, necessitated the despatch of troops to relieve Dr. Robertson, the British agent, and the garrison, who were besieged by the tribesmen. The liberal government had ordered the issue, in March, of a proclamation informing the tribes that the British force would withdraw as soon as order had been restored in Chitral; on August 10 the new government announced that Chitral would be permanently occupied by British troops, a decision justified by Lord Salisbury on the ground that abandonment "if defensible as a question of physical strategy would be most unwise as a question of moral strategy".

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The greatest change apparent in any department of state in consequence of the advent of the new ministry was at the colonial office. Mr. Chamberlain, the new secretary of state for the colonies, the most energetic, and almost the most popular, member of the cabinet, wielding an unequalled influence over the midland manufacturing districts, had exchanged the democratic radicalism of his earlier days for an ardent imperialism. He gave voice and form to that sentiment of pride in the empire which was now spreading rapidly through the nation. Breaking away from the chilling traditions of the colonial office he endeavoured to make that department a more active and stimulating agency in the work of consolidating and developing the extra-European states and dependencies. In a notable speech in the commons on August 22 he referred to the colonies in tropical and semi-tropical regions as undeveloped estates, which might be improved by the judicious investment of British money. He set to work to consolidate these crown colonies, devoting special attention to West Africa, where an expedition to Ashanti became necessary. Kumasi was occupied on January 18, 1896, and the king, Prempeh, deposed. During this expedition Prince Henry of Battenberg, who had married the Princess Beatrice, a daughter of the queen, died of fever on the 20th.

In South Africa the colonial secretary took up the policy of his predecessor. Lord Ripon, while concluding in 1894 an arrangement whereby Swaziland was placed under the control of the Transvaal, checkmated President Krüger's design to obtain a seaport by annexing the strip of land between Swaziland and the sea. This closing of the Boer road to the sea was, as Lord Ripon's colleague, Mr. Bryce, afterwards observed, "one of the most important events in recent South African history". The president's desire to possess a port was "unfavourable to the interests of the paramount power, for it would have favoured the wish of the Boer government to establish political ties with other European powers".[1] The colonial secretary further exerted himself to remedy the grievances of the non-Boer element on the Rand. In a despatch, dated October 19, 1894,

[1] *Impressions of South Africa* (3rd ed.), p. 168. Mr. Bryce was chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster in the administration of Mr. Gladstone, and president of the board of trade in that of Lord Rosebery.

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Lord Ripon pointed out the increasing stringency of the conditions by which a majority of adult males, bearing the chief part of the public burdens, were excluded from all share in the management of public affairs in the Transvaal; and he pressed upon the Boers the view that not more than five years' residence should be required from an Uitlander before the granting of naturalisation and full political rights. Krüger was obdurate, and when Mr. Chamberlain became colonial secretary the discontent of the 77,000 Uitlanders, the majority of whom were British subjects, against the unprogressive and inefficient administration of the Boer oligarchy, was greater than ever. Moreover, the opening on July 8, 1895, of railway communication between Pretoria and Delagoa Bay strengthened the position of the Boers by giving them easy access to a non-British seaport.

But public attention was for a brief period entirely diverted from South Africa by an extraordinary message sent to congress on December 17, 1895, by Mr. Grover Cleveland, the president of the United States, concerning a dispute of long standing between England and Venezuela as to the boundaries of British Guiana and Venezuela. The United States had made efforts to settle the dispute; but, while willing to arbitrate on certain matters, Lord Salisbury declined arbitration with regard to territory indubitably British, and his decision was made known, after an unduly long delay, on December 8. The president in his message declared that Great Britain's refusal of a general arbitration was a grave infringement of the Monroe doctrine; and he asked congress to authorise him to appoint a boundary commission, whose findings would be "imposed upon Great Britain by all the resources of the United States". Though on the morrow some of the New York newspapers vigorously denounced the president's plunge into "jingoism," the message let loose a flood of anti-British sentiment in America, and for a day or two war between the nations seemed imminent. In New York and other cities there was financial panic, and in six days the price of stocks fell by £200,000,000. Lord Salisbury refrained from replying to Mr. Cleveland's threats, and the calm and dignified attitude he maintained preserved the peace which, to all appearance, had been wantonly imperilled by the president and his secretary of state, Mr. Olney. Strong in the justice

of his case, Lord Salisbury accepted in February, 1896, the invitation of the United States boundary commission, appointed in accordance with Mr. Cleveland's wishes, to lay the British case before it, "without prejudice to British rights". The preposterous proposal to enforce the finding of the boundary commission was dropped; and eventually after long negotiation an arbitration tribunal consisting of two British and two United States judges, with the Russian jurist Professor de Martens as president, was constituted in 1897, and met in Paris in June, 1899. The award given in October following was unanimous, and was an almost complete vindication of the British claims.

In the midst of the perturbation caused by the Venezuela difficulty a fresh excitement arose. Not England only but, to use one of Gladstone's favourite phrases, the whole civilised world was startled by the news, published in London on new year's day, 1896, that Dr. Jameson, the administrator of Rhodesia, as the Matabele and Mashona territories were now called, with several hundred troopers of the British South Africa Company's armed force, had entered the Transvaal on December 29 on their way to the Rand. The circumstances leading to Dr. Jameson's raid subsequently formed the subject of parliamentary inquiry at Cape Town and at Westminster. From the facts elucidated the following sequence of events was made clear. In June, 1895, Rhodes, who received the active support of the great cosmopolitan financiers interested in the Transvaal gold mines, determined to promote a revolt in Johannesburg. He told the house of commons committee that in so doing he endeavoured to combat the policy of the Transvaal government, which sought to introduce foreign influence into South Africa. Moreover, believing that the Krüger *régime* must inevitably be displaced, he wished to make sure that the change should not take the form of merely replacing a Dutch by an Uitlander republic, which would have no sympathy with the federation of South Africa under the British flag.[1]

Actuated by these motives Rhodes came to an understanding with the leading "reformers," as the discontented English and foreign residents called themselves, in Johannesburg. The Cape premier, who it must be remembered was at this time

[1] See *Parliamentary Papers, Second Report on British South Africa*, 1897, p. 45.

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also managing director of the chartered company, was to get a force of armed men from Rhodesia, and keep them at Mafeking near the Transvaal border. The reformers were to seize the arsenal at Pretoria and hold Johannesburg, whereupon it was expected that the high commissioner, Sir Hercules Robinson, would come up to mediate, and that the imperial government would be compelled to insist on drastic changes and the overthrow of the Krüger oligarchy. To further the scheme Rhodes's brother was sent to Johannesburg, and a certain quantity of arms was smuggled into the town. After much hesitation and negotiation, Saturday, December 28, was fixed upon as the date of the attempt. By the 26th, however, serious differences had broken out among the reform leaders, some of whom had no desire to hoist the British flag and preferred that independent non-Dutch republic which Rhodes disliked. From the 26th onward the reform leaders and Rhodes were urgent in their entreaties to Jameson not to cross the frontier; but the doctor, in Rhodes's words, "upset the apple-cart," and with some 600 troopers he "went in". His ostensible ground of action was à letter, fabricated some weeks previously, and addressed to him by the Johannesburg reformers, calling upon him to protect the "women and children" on the Rand against the alleged (but non-existent) dangers which threatened them at the hands of "armed Boers". As soon as he learnt what Jameson had done, Rhodes cabled the letter to London for publication in the *Times*, with a date filled which made it appear an urgent summons for help against imminent peril.[1]

By the afternoon of Thursday, January 2, the ill-planned and ill-managed filibustering expedition was over. Jameson and his men, who had ridden hard across the veldt since the Sunday evening on Wednesday morning reached Krugersdorp, where they expected to be reinforced from Johannesburg, which town had been deserted by the Boers and was in the hands of the reform committee. But this committee was in confusion; it had no proper force to send, and no help was forthcoming. The heights at Krugersdorp were strongly held by some 2,000 Boers under General Cronje, and after an engagement, in which the raiders lost twenty-five killed and many wounded, Jameson and the whole column surrendered, on con-

[1] See *Second Report on British South Africa*, 1897, p. 10.

dition that their lives were spared. Before the fight began Jameson had received two messages from the British government ordering him to return, but these commands he had deliberately disobeyed. On one point Rhodes's forecast was verified: the high commissioner hurried to Pretoria to mediate.

The Boers handed over the raiders to Sir Hercules for deportation to England, where the leaders were tried at bar, and convicted of preparing a military expedition within her majesty's dominions to invade a friendly state. Dr. Jameson was sentenced to fifteen months' imprisonment; Sir John Willoughby, who had been in military command of the expedition, and four other officers, were sent to prison for shorter terms, their names being also struck off the army list.[1] On January 9 Johannesburg surrendered, and the members of the reform committee were arrested. Four of the leaders were condemned to death on April 27; but the sentence was commuted to a fine of £25,000. Forty-five other members of the committee were fined £2,000 each and released on the payment of the fines. The Transvaal government on its part sent in a claim for £667,938 3s. 3d. for material damages and for £1,000,000 as "moral and intellectual compensation". Neither sum was ever paid, the second item being from the first regarded as ridiculous; but the imperial government admitted the liability for material loss actually caused by the raid.

For his share in the Johannesburg conspiracy and Dr. Jameson's inroad Rhodes was not put on his trial. On January 7, 1896, it was announced that he had resigned his office of premier of Cape Colony, and on June 26 he also resigned his position as managing director of the chartered company. In the previous April he had gone to Matebeleland where the natives, taking advantage of the withdrawal of the troops by Jameson, had risen in revolt. The rebellion was ended by an indaba or conference in the Matoppo Hills on September 9. Unarmed, and with three companions only, Rhodes had previously met the Matabele in the hills, and now by his knowledge of native ways obtained the submission of the chiefs. Early in the following year the house of commons appointed a special committee to inquire into the circumstances attending the raid. Rhodes returned to

[1] Some years later these officers were reinstated in the army.

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England in February and gave evidence before this committee. On July 13, 1897, the committee—which included Sir William Harcourt, Sir Michael Hicks Beach, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and Mr. Labouchere—reported that "whatever justification there may have been for action on the part of the people of Johannesburg, there was none for the conduct of a person in Mr. Rhodes's position," and severely censured the ex-Cape premier. In debate in the house, however, on the 26th, Mr. Chamberlain asserted, and greatly irritated Dutch opinion in South Africa by so doing, that there was nothing to be said against Mr. Rhodes's character as a man of honour. The suggestion that the colonial office had any foreknowledge of the raid was declared by the committee to be unsupported by evidence. But the acquittal was never accepted by Krüger and the Boers, who could not divest themselves of the suspicion that the imperial authorities had been made cognisant of the scheme of Rhodes and Jameson. It was a suspicion which led to grave consequences. Rhodes himself, more or less misled by his confidential agents and informants, no doubt believed that the high commissioner, if not the colonial secretary, was acquainted with the general character of his proposed enterprise, and did not discourage it in the expectation that it would prove successful.

One very significant incident connected with the raid remains to be noticed. On January 3, 1896, the Berlin *Imperial Gazette* published the following telegram sent by the German Emperor to President Krüger: "I express to you my sincere congratulations that without appealing to the help of friendly powers, you and your people have succeeded in repelling with your own forces the armed bands which had broken into your country and in maintaining the independence of your country against foreign aggression". In Great Britain the emperor's telegram was regarded with bitter resentment as a gratuitous and insulting interference between the Transvaal and its suzerain. It was answered by the immediate mobilisation of a powerful flying squadron of battleships and cruisers, and the rapidity with which this effective maritime force was got ready, fully equipped for war, at a moment's notice, considerably impressed the world. It was probably prepared with an eye to the difficulty with the United States as well as a precautionary measure against Germany; for while the cabinet must have known that the friction

with Germany could hardly lead to a rupture, it was by no means certain, in January, 1896, that a pacific solution to the Venezuelan dispute would be found. The Jameson raid and the emperor's telegram did something to inflame the mutual distrust and jealousy already growing between England and Germany. The sentiment was carefully watched by both governments and was not permitted to produce any adverse effect on their political or diplomatic action. But though the two foreign offices kept their tempers admirably, a bitter warfare of tongues and pens was raging between England and Germany during the final years of the century, and was at its height when Queen Victoria's reign came to a close.

A series of massacres of Armenians in Asia Minor during 1896 aroused indignation throughout Great Britain. Massacres at Sassun and other places in 1894 had led, at the instance of the Rosebery cabinet, to an investigation on the spot by consular representatives of France, Russia, and England, and the presentation in May, 1895, to the Porte of a joint note from those powers demanding the institution of reforms. But the concert of Europe was one in name only, Russia resolutely refusing to countenance coercive measures against Turkey and declining under any circumstances to assent to the creation of "a new Bulgaria in Armenia".[1] In the autumn of 1895 massacres recommenced and continued throughout 1896. In the three years 1894-96 it is said that fully 100,000 Armenians were killed. Armenian revolutionary committees retaliated; on August 26, 1896, a band of Armenians armed with dynamite bombs seized the Ottoman Bank at Constantinople. This event was the excuse for a massacre of Armenians in the streets of Constantinople, over 4,000 persons being killed. At Liverpool on September 24 Gladstone attempted to rouse the country and the government to take independent and isolated action on behalf of Armenia. Lord Salisbury declined to respond to this fervid appeal; but it caused Lord Rosebery to resign the leadership of the liberal party on October 1. Speaking at Edinburgh on the 9th he said that against the policy of solitary interference he was prepared to fight tooth and nail. Lord Rosebery could hardly have continued much longer in the nominal command of the opposition forces even

[1] *Parliamentary Papers, Turkey*, No. 1 (1896), pp. 81-87.

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without the dispute over Armenia. In matters of foreign and imperial policy he was little in sympathy with the majority of his own party, nor on certain important domestic questions was he entirely in accord with some of his late colleagues in the cabinet. He might have found himself more comfortable, perhaps also more useful, if he had joined the liberal unionists with whom he had much in common. As it was he remained in a curiously detached position, lying a little outside both political camps, formidable to one side as a candid critic, more formidable to the other as a candid friend. His occasional platform speeches evoked much interest and some bewilderment; for the public, always impatient of fine distinctions in politics, but keenly appreciative of personal ability, were both impressed and perplexed by his utterances. At times his attitude of quasi-independence enabled him to perform valuable service to the nation, as when he came forward to support the government in the dispute with France over Fashoda in 1898.[1] The leadership of the badly compacted opposition was assumed by Earl Spencer in the upper house, and in the commons by Sir William Harcourt, the ablest exponent of that Gladstonian liberalism which Lord Rosebery opposed.

The island of Crete at this time was in the throes of civil war and was calling for union with Greece. Here was a case where isolated action by Great Britain, through her fleet, was possible, and Lord Salisbury in this matter led Europe. Recognising that in rejecting the proposals of Nicholas I. in 1853—a rejection which led to the Crimean war—"we put all our money on the wrong horse,"[2] the foreign secretary determined that the mistake should not be repeated in the case of Crete on February 14, 1897. Greece, impatient of delay, sent troops to the island, where Moslem and Christian seemed equally guilty of atrocities. War between Greece and the Porte broke out on April 18. The Turks can always fight, and when occasion calls they can usually produce a general. In this campaign the Ottoman soldiers showed their old quality, they were led by an extremely capable commander, Edhem Pasha, and there was no excess of antique heroism in the Hellenic levies. The Greeks were speedily and badly worsted, and under pressure of defeat, they

[1] See *infra*, p. 442.

[2] Speech in the house of lords, January 19, 1897.

were recalled from Crete on May 9, whereupon the powers intervened, and the fighting ceased. On September 18 a treaty of peace was signed, and Greece saved from the consequences of her own folly. Crete meanwhile had been occupied by the troops of the powers, and in 1898 an autonomous government was set up in the island, with Prince George of Greece as high commissioner. It was not until October, 1899, that some measure of reform was accorded to Armenia.

The legislative programme submitted to parliament in 1897 was comparatively modest. A workmen's compensation act on a liberal scale showed the desire of the government to safeguard the rights of labour. The doings of parliament, apart from the proceedings connected with the Jameson raid, excited little attention, and as the year advanced public interest was almost wholly absorbed in the celebration of the second or "diamond" jubilee, as it was not very happily called, of the queen. On the 20th of June Queen Victoria completed the sixtieth year of her reign, having the previous month celebrated her seventy-eighth birthday. The jubilee was made the occasion of an unparalleled demonstration of imperial strength and spirit. The "splendid isolation" in which the empire stood, as revealed by Mr. Cleveland's message, by the German emperor's telegram, and by the jealousy of British influence in West Africa exhibited by France, had drawn closer the bonds between the mother-country and the colonies. Magnificent festivities were organised in London in honour of the queen, culminating in the thanksgiving service on the steps of St. Paul's on June 22. The celebration was marked by the assemblage in London of the premiers of all the self-governing colonies, together with representatives of India and the crown colonies. They were the objects of much popular attention and interest when they appeared in public with Mr. Chamberlain, who had closely identified himself with the imperial movement, and was now at the height of his popularity and influence. The colonial delegates met in a conference, which was occupied specially with two great subjects, imperial defence and trade within the empire. Cape Colony came forward with the gift of a first-class battleship; Canada with a proposal to render the fiscal relations of Great Britain and her colonies independent of arrangements with foreign powers. On July 30 the commercial treaties with Germany and Belgium, which prevented

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any inter-imperial preferential treatment, were denounced, and Canada at once granted a preference to British imports. No general agreement was reached either on the question of imperial defence or that of commercial union; but in the discussions at this conference may be seen the beginnings of the preferential tariff agitation which took definite shape in 1903. The consolidation of the empire was promoted by the establishment, in 1898, of penny postage between England and most of the colonies.

Notwithstanding its large majority, the government found considerable difficulty during the session of 1898 in making headway with legislation; the only measure of first-class importance passed was an act which by setting up county councils in Ireland assimilated the local government of that country to the system established in Great Britain. Gladstone died on May 19, Bismarck not many weeks later, on July 30. The two men had small regard for one another, and little in common, except that they had both filled the highest places in the administration of their respective countries, and during a part of their career had been among the most influential personalities of their age. Both too had fallen from power before the close of their lives and survived to witness their policy reversed or counteracted in other hands, so that a certain atmosphere of failure had gathered about them in their later days. This was certainly the case with Gladstone, whose death would have more powerfully affected his countrymen if it had occurred a decade and a half earlier. Controversy, however, on his career was temporarily hushed, and Lord Salisbury and Mr. Balfour vied with Sir William Harcourt and Mr. Morley in eulogising the statesman who had left so broad an impress on the history of his country. His remains were interred with much ceremony in Westminster Abbey on May 28.

In April war broke out between Spain and the United States over the misgovernment of Cuba, and the Spaniards were speedily worsted and compelled to abandon the island. The sympathies of continental Europe were with Spain, and Salisbury's firmness alone prevented the formation of an anti-American coalition. In thus demonstrating the friendly feeling entertained by England towards the United States, Salisbury laid the foundation of a cordial understanding between the two nations. In the

far east the prime minister's policy was less successful. Russia, Germany and France, who had in 1895 compelled Japan to relinquish Port Arthur on the plea of preserving the integrity of China, set to work to destroy that integrity. Taking advantage of the murder of two missionaries in Shantung, Germany seized the port of Kiao-Chau, November 17, 1897; and the German emperor backed up the seizure by sending on December 15 his brother Prince Henry of Prussia with a strong fleet to China, exhorting the departing admiral to resist any invasion of German rights with the "mailed fist". On the 18th Russian warships entered Port Arthur "to winter"; in January, 1898, two British crusiers were also sent to the same place, but were hastily withdrawn when Russia protested against their presence. On March 5, Germany was granted a "lease" of Kiao-Chau, and on the 27th a lease of Port Arthur was given to Russia. In the south France secured the port of Kwang-Chau Wan. British policy was confined to endeavours to secure the "open door" for trade. However on April 5 Mr. Balfour announced that "to restore the balance of power disturbed by Russia's acquisition," Great Britain had obtained from China a lease of the island of Wei-hai-wei; an useful patch of additional territory on the mainland opposite Hong-Kong was also secured.

A convention with France, signed on June 14, settled a dispute between the two powers over the boundaries of their West African territories, Great Britain retaining complete control of the Lower Niger. But in the autumn the relations between the two countries suddenly became critical. In the spring of 1896 the Anglo-Egyptian administration determined to undertake the reconquest of the Sudan, which had been left under the barbarous and devastating rule of the Mahdist fanatics ever since the death of Gordon and the fall of Khartum eleven years before. After long and careful preparation the Egyptian army, led and disciplined by British officers, and now in a high state of efficiency, advanced southward under the command of the sirdar, Sir Herbert Kitchener. On September 23 Dongola was occupied. But Kitchener moved slowly, cautiously, and economically, and it was not till a year later, September 13, 1897, that the Egyptians entered Berber. On September 2, 1898, Kitchener's well-planned and well-managed campaign culminated in the annihilation of the khalifa's army at Om-

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durman, with a great carnage of the dervishes, the death of their leader, and the re-occupation of Khartum. The Egyptian army had thus amply vindicated the confidence which its British organisers and instructors had reposed in it.

Even while the final stages of the campaign were taking place, the agents of another European power were moving towards the Sudan. Five days after the battle of Omdurman news reached the sirdar that a small body of native troops commanded by white officers was in occupation of Fashoda, higher up the Nile. Thither Kitchener went at once, and found a French officer, Major Marchand, with eighty Senegalese and eight white companions. Having left the Congo early in 1897, Marchand's small force had struggled across Africa with indomitable determination, and had hoisted the tricolour at Fashoda in July, 1898. They were, however, in great danger, and according to Kitchener would certainly have been destroyed "if we had been a fortnight later in crushing the khalifa".[1] Marchand, however, refused to move without orders from Paris; and for a time the French government seemed inclined to justify his presence and to withold its recognition of the Sudan as part of the Anglo-Egyptian *enclave*. Lord Salisbury declined to discuss the matter, and informed M. Delcassé, the French foreign minister, that the British government would consent to no compromise. For six weeks France hesitated, while quiet but unmistakable naval preparations were made in England. Eventually the French gave way on November 4, and Marchand was unconditionally withdrawn; and by a declaration signed in London on March 21, 1899, France relinquished all claim to Soudanese territory. In the meantime, "to give effect to the claims which have accrued to her Britannic majesty's government by right of conquest,"[2] an agreement had been signed in Cairo on January 19 placing the "Egyptian" Sudan under the *condominium* of England and Egypt. Governed by British officials the Sudan rapidly made great progress. The khalifa himself was killed in battle in November, 1899, and Osman Digna, who had given England and Egypt so much trouble on the Red Sea littoral, was captured in January, 1900.

For two years Sir William Harcourt had been nominal

[1] *Parliamentary Papers, Egypt*, No. 2, 1898.

[2] Preamble of Anglo-Egyptian agreement of January 19, 1899.

leader of the liberal opposition; but the imperialists were no more obedient to him than the other section of the liberals had been to Lord Rosebery. Wearied of an impossible position he resigned his leadership in December, 1898,[1] and announced his withdrawal from the councils of the party, a course with which Mr. Morley associated himself, declaring that certain influential liberals had caught the plague of jingoism and had allied themselves with a policy of militarism and the creation of international jealousies.[2] At the opening of the session of 1899 the liberals in the commons selected for their chief Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, who was destined after seven years' leadership in opposition to become prime minister. Parliament in this session passed acts establishing borough councils instead of the old vestries in London, and relieving rural incumbents from the payment of half the rates levied on their tithe rent charge. It also authorised the buying out of the Niger Company for £865,000, and the crown thus cheaply acquired a dominion a-third the size of India. In May, 1899, representatives of Great Britain attended an international conference at the Hague, convened on the initiative of the Emperor of Russia, for the discussion of schemes of arbitration, disarmament, and the amelioration of the customs of war. No progress was made with respect to disarmament; but a permanent court of arbitration was established at the Dutch capital, largely through the efforts of the principal British delegate, Sir Julian Pauncefote.

Great Britain, however, in the late summer of 1899 had other preoccupations than those of international peace. The nineteenth century was destined to close as it had opened under the shadow of war. Before the Hague conference adjourned the position of affairs had grown extremely serious in South Africa. The Transvaal Boers, at once emboldened and embittered by the fiasco of the Jameson raid, had adopted measures which further exasperated the Uitlander population, growing in numbers, wealth, and self-confidence with the steady increase of the gold-mining industry. Sir Alfred Milner, who had succeeded Sir Hercules Robinson as high commissioner in February, 1897, in vain pressed the Boers to redress the griev-

[1] See the *Times*, December 14, 1898.

[2] Speech at Montrose, January 17, 1899.

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ances of the Johannesburgers. At length, on May 4, 1899, Sir Alfred telegraphed to Mr. Chamberlain stating that "the spectacle of thousands of British subjects kept permanently in the position of helots" was undermining the influence of Great Britain throughout South Africa, and he called for "some striking proof of the intention of her majesty's government not to be ousted from its position". This was followed by a conference from May 31 to June 5 at Bloemfontein between Sir Alfred Milner and President Krüger. The high commissioner made the grant of the franchise on the terms suggested by Lord Ripon, that is after five years' residence, his main demand, wishing to obtain for the Uitlanders "such a share of political power as would enable them gradually to redress their [other] grievances themselves".[1] The conference failed, Krüger offering only a seven years' franchise, hedged about with many conditions. In England, Mr. Chamberlain was urged by the unionist press to take strong action; but public opinion was by no means unanimous, and Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman at Ilford on June 17 declared that he could discern "nothing to justify . . . even military preparations" by Great Britain. This attitude continued to be maintained by many liberals, who, when war broke out, denounced it as a crime and a blunder committed not by the Boers, but by the imperial cabinet at the instigation of the Rand financiers. On July 7 the government announced that military preparations were being made, and within four days offers of colonial help were received.

In Cape Colony opinion was divided, many of the Afrikanders sympathising with their kinsmen in the Transvaal; and Mr. Schreiner, the premier, on July 8 stated that "this [the Cape] government is convinced that no ground whatever exists for active interference".[2] Then came the offer by the Transvaal (which on July 19 had passed a seven years' franchise law) to give a five years' franchise if Great Britain agreed: (1) not again to interfere in the internal affairs of the republic; (2) to drop the claim to suzerainty; and (3) to refer all future disputes to arbitration. To this proposal, made on August 18, Mr. Chamberlain replied on the 28th that Great Britain could not divest herself of her rights under the conventions and main-

[1] Speech at Cape Town, June 12, 1899.

[2] Letter published in the *South African News*, Cape Town.

tained the suzerainty. Subsequent negotiations brought the parties no nearer agreement; and at length the colonial secretary intimated that the imperial government considered further negotiations useless and that it would reconsider the whole situation and would in due course state the terms of settlement itself. Both sides prepared for an armed struggle. The British government had been warned, though it paid little attention to the information, that the Boer military equipment was very formidable; for ever since the Jameson raid the Transvaalers had expended much of the large revenue they derived from the gold mines in quietly providing themselves with magazine rifles and a vast supply of ammunition, together with modern field-guns and heavy cannon manufactured in France and Germany. Mr. Steyn, the president of the Orange Free State, made some half-hearted attempts at mediation, which were futile, and finally he and his people threw in their lot with the Transvaalers. In the early days of October some 50,000 Uitlanders hurriedly left the Rand. A division of British troops, under Sir George White, had been sent from India to Natal, and moved up towards the Transvaal. On the 9th the Boer government sent an ultimatum to England calling for the instant withdrawal of British forces from their borders, and demanding that none of the troops on the high seas should be landed at South African ports. An answer was required within forty-eight hours. Mr. Chamberlain replied that "her majesty's government deemed it impossible to discuss the conditions," and on October 11 the Boers crossed the frontier into Natal, and simultaneously began the investment of Mafeking and Kimberley.

The war was destined to be far longer and more arduous than either side had anticipated. Each party to the conflict had undervalued both the resources and the resolution of its antagonist. The Boers, remembering the last armed struggle with England, knowing the extent of their own armaments, and well aware of the insignificant number of British troops in South Africa before the outbreak of hostilities, believed that the imperial government would have neither the means nor the spirit to wear down their determined resistance. On the other hand the British cabinet, clinging to the belief that the Boers would yield to pressure without fighting, had paid little attention

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to the representations of its military advisers and had made preparations which were both tardy and inadequate. Lord Wolseley, writing on September 12, said: "If this war comes off it will be the most serious war England has ever had";[1] but few, either soldiers or civilians, had any conception of the formidable efficiency of the Boer burghers in such a campaign as that on which they were now embarking. Trained troops are usually at a disadvantage in dealing with a mobile force of irregulars on their own ground; and the farmers of the Dutch republics were irregulars of exceptional quality. Born and bred on the African veldt they were familiar from boyhood with the rifle, the saddle and the transport-waggon, they had the obstinate patience of their race, and on their hardy ponies they could move at a speed which baffled the British officers, until they had learnt many lessons from their enemy. Moreover the burghers had the good fortune to find some capable leaders. Three at least of their amateur generals obtained a world-wide reputation. Christian de Wet, a Free State farmer, may be classed with Garibaldi as a daring and resourceful guerilla captain. J. H. Delarey, a Transvaaler, was a tenacious and skilful commander of mounted infantry; and Louis Botha, who afterwards became the first premier of the Transvaal under British rule, showed high strategical as well as tactical ability. But for the lax discipline of the Boers, their incapacity to act on a large combined plan, and their excessive caution, the war might have been even more protracted and more expensive than it actually proved. In fact, it cost Great Britain two and a half years of hard fighting and a hundred and fifty millions of money before a population numbering not much more than 50,000 adult males was finally reduced to subjection.

At the outset the military situation was unfavourable to England. Under urgent pressure from the colonial government, but contrary to his own better judgment, Sir George White attempted to hold the exposed northern triangle of Natal against the combined forces of the Transvaalers and Free Staters On October 20, 1899, the first engagement of the campaign occurred at Talana Hill, near Dundee, and resulted in the repulse of the Boers; and on the following day they were badly defeated at Elandslaagte. But the successes could

[1] *Military Life of the Duke of Cambridge*, ii., 421.

not be followed up; General Joubert, the Boer commander-in-chief, had the advantage of position as well as numbers; and White found himself compelled to withdraw his advanced column and fall back to await reinforcements at Ladysmith on the Tugela River. The retirement was well managed; but at Nicholson's Nek, outside Ladysmith on October 30, the British met with the first of those humiliating reverses with which they were to become disagreeably familiar. Ten companies of infantry with a battery of mountain guns were sent to turn the enemy's flank. Losing touch with the main force, they were ambuscaded, and compelled to surrender, after fighting till their ammunition gave out; and the public at home heard with intense surprise and mortification that some 900 British soldiers were on their way to Pretoria as prisoners of war. By November 2 the investment of Ladysmith was complete; White with about 12,000 men was shut up in this town with the heights all round held by the Boer commandoes, 20,000 strong. Two days earlier Sir Redvers Buller, an officer of high reputation who had never commanded a large body of troops in the field, arrived at Cape Town to take the supreme control of all the operations in South Africa. Reinforcements were now coming in fast from England, together with contingents to the number of 2,500 men from Australasia and Canada. Altogether Buller had between eighty and ninety thousand troops, including fifteen thousand South African colonial levies, at his disposal for the whole extensive theatre of war; but they were much scattered and large numbers were required to hold the lines of communication. Lord Methuen with 13,000 men, including some of the finest regiments in the British army, was despatched to the relief of Kimberley, and General Gatacre sent towards the Orange River, which the Boers had crossed. Sir Redvers himself, at the head of 20,000 troops, went to Natal, now overrun by the Boers, almost as far as Maritzburg.

The year ended in gloom and anxiety. The nation, which had entered upon the war with a light heart, believing that at the worst it could only be an affair of a very few months, now knew that it had a most formidable foe to contend with; and it had also the chagrin of discovering that some of its trusted generals, trained by military administration in peace or by warfare against savages, were not altogether equal to

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the difficult task before them. The "black week" of December, 1899, opened the eyes of the English people and the English government to the gravity of the South African enterprise. In all the three centres of operations there had been disasters. Methuen on November 23 and 25 had defeated the Boers under Cronje at Belmont and Graspan. On November 29, after a hard battle, he forced the passage of the Modder River. But on December 10 he attacked the Boers at Magersfontein and failed to dislodge them. He lost some 800 men; for the Highland Brigade, caught by surprise in a night march, was badly cut up. On the same day Gatacre met with a serious reverse near the Orange River frontier. His attempt to drive the enemy from a strong position at Stormberg by a *coup-de-main* completely failed, and over 600 of his troops were made prisoners.

A few days later bad news came from Natal. On the 15th Buller endeavoured to effect the relief of Ladysmith by pushing across the Tugela at Colenso and making a direct assault upon Joubert's force, posted upon the frowning mass of hills above the river. The attack was abandoned, with considerable loss, after the Boers had captured two batteries of Buller's field artillery. These mortifying failures were resolutely fronted. Hostile criticism was not silenced; but the government could count on national support in carrying the campaign to a victorious conclusion. "It is," said Mr. Asquith at Newcastle on the day after Colenso, "our title to be known as a world power which is now on trial." That title was amply sustained, though at great cost of blood and treasure. The cabinet met the crisis with prompt and comprehensive measures, and was now fully resolved to make war on a scale never before attempted in the history of the British Empire. It decided to send out Lord Roberts as commander-in-chief; and Kitchener, who had been created a peer the previous year, was brought from the Sudan to act as his chief of the staff.

The forces which were placed at the disposal of these generals exceeded the entire population of the Boer republics. Nearly all the available regiments of the regular army, with the exception of those in India, were sent to the front. The militia was embodied and several of its battalions were ordered to replace the regular troops in the Mediterranean and home garrisons, while others went to South Africa to hold the lines

of communications. Many volunteers offered themselves for service and were sent to the seat of war; and further well-equipped contingents were despatched from Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, while several thousand more irregulars were hastily levied in South Africa itself. In addition to all this the government raised several regiments in Great Britain of old soldiers who had completed their term of service, and a large body of "imperial yeomanry," that is, young civilians, many of them with no previous military training, who enlisted at a high rate of pay to serve as mounted infantry during the war. No British commander had ever directed so large a host as that which obeyed Lord Roberts' orders. The imperial government had over a quarter of a million of armed men in South Africa by the end of the following year.

Roberts and Kitchener met at Gibraltar on December 27, 1899, and reached Cape Town on January 10, 1900. A few days before, on the 6th, the Ladysmith garrison, in the battle known as Waggon Hill, had been hard pressed and had only repulsed the enemy after thirteen hours' desperate fighting. But their situation was growing increasingly difficult, and White was holding out tenaciously against heavy odds. The heights which commanded the town were occupied by the Boers, who kept up a constant bombardment. Their siege ordnance outranged the British artillery, but the balance was partly redressed by a naval brigade which had pushed up from the coast with some powerful guns. The bombardment did less damage than sickness and the scarcity of provisions, which made great ravages among White's troops. Weakened by disease and hunger they had no thought of surrender, though they had the further discouragement of learning the failure of one after another of Buller's efforts to rescue them. On January 23 Buller attempted to force the Boer lines on the south-west of the town, and in the course of the movement he occupied a hill beyond the Tugela called Spion Kop. Here, in an untenable position, the troops were mown down ruthlessly by the Boer fire, and Buller recrossed the Tugela having accomplished nothing and lost heavily. On February 5 he again endeavoured to raise the siege by an attack on the Boer lines at Vaal Kranz; but here also he was unsuccessful and had to retire once more.

Serious as was the position at Ladysmith, Roberts deter-

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mined in the first place to devote his chief attention to the Boer army of the west, and to strike at the heart of the republics from that side. On February 7 he left Cape Town for the front. For the relief of Kimberley he relied mainly on a strong mounted force, placed under the command of General French, who proved himself a very capable cavalry leader. By a rapid sweeping movement French, on the 15th, raised the siege of Kimberley, to which the Boers had attached undue importance, principally because Cecil Rhodes was assisting in the defence. Cronje hastily quitted his entrenchments and made for Bloemfontein. But he had moved too late, and was unable to shake off the columns of French and Kitchener, by whom he was surrounded at Paardeberg on the 17th. For ten days he clung desperately to his camp in the bed of a river, under a tremendous cannonade, but on the 27th, the nineteenth anniversary of Majuba, Cronje with his whole force of 4,000 men surrendered unconditionally to Lord Roberts.

The advance of the commander-in-chief had done something to reduce the pressure on Ladysmith; and Sir Redvers Buller was at length able to release the valiant garrison terribly exhausted by the privations of the four months' siege. Warned by previous experience he now attacked the Boer ring of investment at its eastern and more vulnerable point; but the position of the besiegers was still strong, and the storming of Pieter's Hill on February 27 was an exploit worthy of the best traditions of the British army. The Boers drew off from the town and retreated to their own frontier, whence they were gradually driven back by Buller with some further hard fighting into the interior of the country. Meanwhile the advance on the Boer capitals was developed by Lord Roberts. After Cronje's collapse at Paardeberg, he moved swiftly on Bloemfontein (so swiftly that he lost a good deal of his transport and supply train), swept aside the Boer commandoes, and on March 5 Krüger and Steyn telegraphed to Lord Salisbury asking for peace, but still "on condition of the incontestable independence of both republics as sovereign international states". Lord Salisbury in his reply indicated that even the *status ante bellum* could not be maintained, for the British government was no longer "prepared to assent to the independence of either republic". Attempts were made to obtain the mediation of

the United States, but Lord Salisbury informed the American ambassador that the government did "not propose to accept the intervention of any power in the South African war".[1] There was much sympathy with the Boers on the continent of Europe and even in America; but while anti-British feeling in some countries was exceedingly strong and indeed virulent, the fact that the war left unimpaired the naval strength of Great Britain rendered foreign intervention a proceeding too hazardous to be attempted.

On March 13 Lord Roberts entered Bloemfontein, where a delay of some weeks occurred while supplies were being brought up. On May 28 a proclamation was issued annexing the Orange Free State to Great Britain under the name of the Orange River Colony. On the same day died the Boer commandant-in-chief, General Joubert. A few days before, on the 18th, the news of the relief of Mafeking, where a small force under Colonel Baden-Powell had been besieged for 218 days, was received with extravagant rejoicing in London. The tide was turning against the Boers, but British reverses and surrenders continued to occur, some of them not far from Bloemfontein itself. Roberts, however, having reorganised and provisioned his army, moved on towards his main objective, the Transvaal capital. Pretoria was occupied, with little resistance, on June 5. The main Transvaal army had been collected under Louis Botha at Diamond Hill, a few miles to the east of Pretoria. Here a hardly-contested battle on June 11 ended in the defeat and partial dispersal of the Boer force. On September 1 a proclamation was issued by which the Transvaal was annexed to the queen's dominions. The Boers, under Botha, De Wet, and other leaders, maintained an obstinate guerilla warfare; but the final victory of the British was inevitable, though it did not actually come till after the close of the century and of the reign of Queen Victoria. The task of hunting down the scattered, mobile burgher bands was long and wearisome. Lord Roberts, thinking that the war was practically at an end, handed over the command of the army to Lord Kitchener in November, 1900. But there was a great deal of arduous work still to be done. Kitchener, by a systematic series of "drives," gradually

[1] Statement in parliament, March 15, 1900.

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exterminated or captured the Boer commandoes, and the leaders gave in their submission at Vereeniging, where peace was concluded on June 1, 1902, and the two Boer states were incorporated with the empire.

Not only in South Africa were British troops engaged during 1900. A revolt in Ashanti caused much anxiety; but the major part of the garrison shut up in Kumasi at the beginning of April cut their way through to the coast on July 10 and the remainder were relieved by Colonel J. Willcocks on the 15th after much stubborn fighting. The rebels were completely defeated on September 30, and Ashanti was annexed to Great Britain. More serious than the Ashanti rebellion was the rising, in China, of the anti-foreign society known as the Boxers, a rising which was the outcome of the attempts of foreign powers to dismember the empire. The Boxers, probably with the connivance of the faction in power at the Chinese court, attacked the legations at Pekin in June, the German minister being assassinated in the streets of the city. For several weeks the legation staffs and other foreign residents in Pekin were besieged and in imminent danger of massacre. Admiral Seymour, who was in command of the China squadron, at the head of 1,700 men, British and foreign, endeavoured to force his way to Pekin. But he encountered serious resistance, his communications were cut, and he had to be rescued by a relieving force sent up from Taku after the allied fleets had bombarded and silenced the forts at that place. Great Britain in concert with the other powers now decided to send a strong mixed contingent to relieve the legations. The column, which included British-Indian, American, and Japanese troops, and was under the command of a German officer, Count von Waldersee, reached Pekin on August 14. The Chinese government made some pretence of punishing the persons assumed to be responsible for the outrage and agreed to pay a large indemnity. The nominal integrity of China was left undisturbed; but Russia took advantage of the outbreak to occupy the whole of Manchuria, and thus the eventual collision between the Muscovite and the Japanese powers in Asia was brought a step nearer.

In September the government suddenly dissolved parliament and appealed to the country on the ground that it was necessary to bring to an issue the question of fighting the South African

war to a finish. The "khaki election," as it was called, from the uniform worn by the troops in South Africa, naturally proved favourable to the unionists, who secured a majority of 134. In the last session of the old parliament the chief measure passed had been that which amalgamated the Australian colonies in a federation. The Australian Commonwealth Act, which, with some important differences, was modelled on the lines of the Dominion of Canada Act of 1867, came into force on the 1st of January, 1901; and on that day, therefore, the second great federal union of self-governing colonial states was added to the imperial crown of Britain.

It was the last act in the consolidation of the empire which the queen witnessed. In her eightieth year, when the Boer war opened, she took a most active interest in all its incidents, and did not spare herself in a single particular of her duties of state. In April, 1900, in admiration of the achievements of "her brave Irish" soldiers, she paid a three-weeks' visit to Dublin, and was received with genuine enthusiasm. The death of the Duke of Coburg on July 30, and the knowledge that her daughter the Empress Frederick was smitten with a fatal malady, added to the strain from which she was suffering. At Osborne, on January 2, 1901, she received Lord Roberts on his return from South Africa, and for a fortnight longer continued her usual duties. Her final illness was very short. Her health had been breaking down for some time; but not till after the middle of January was it generally known that the life of the aged sovereign was in danger. She died at Osborne on January 22, 1901, and the longest reign in the annals of Britain was over. The queen's body was carried in procession through the streets of London and taken to Windsor, where it rests in the mausoleum at Frogmore beside that of her husband. She was mourned with a sincerity and depth of emotion to which few parallels could be found in the history of nations. For the jealousies which had often assailed the throne during the early and middle portions of her reign were long since forgotten; and the venerable sovereign's personal character, now fully understood, in its kindliness, its simplicity, its unshrinking devotion to duty, its unobtrusive purity and goodness, had inspired universal respect and unquestioned affection. In Great Britain she was the first occupant of the throne who could be called a genuinely constitutional monarch;

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to the British empire she was the embodiment of that sense of racial pride and national greatness of which she was herself serenely conscious. Lord Salisbury was not wrong when he spoke of her "passionate patriotism" and her "incomparable judgment". To millions of her subjects throughout her scattered and composite realm she was the interesting and sympathetic representative of public spirit and domestic virtue; nor was the sentiment confined to those of her own race and language. As Mr. Balfour said in parliament, in moving the address in reply to the message of her successor: "she passed away without an enemy in the world; for even those who loved not England loved her". And many must have felt, as the grave closed over Queen Victoria, that the country and the empire were the poorer for the loss of a ruler who had performed invaluable services for both, and had herself been among the most potent and salutary influences in the great formative and transitional period indelibly associated with her name.

CHAPTER XX.

LITERATURE AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

THE "Victorian age," if it lives in history as a distinct epoch, will do so because of its science rather than its politics. It was a period of unequalled scientific progress and activity, alike in the region of speculative thought and in that of practical invention and discovery. If the statesmen and the party leaders were but faintly conscious of the true meaning and significance of this movement, the case was different with the men of letters. Science, or perhaps it would be more correct to say the scientific temper, impressed its stamp upon the Victorian literature, and directly or indirectly affected most of its leading minds. And the multifarious literary productiveness of these energetic years was manifested in an atmosphere at first tinged, and afterwards permeated, by the "new learning" of the physicists, the naturalists, and the cosmogonists.

Darwin's *Origin of Species* was issued in 1859. Its publication was one of the great events, in some respects perhaps the greatest event, of Queen Victoria's reign. On English thought and its expression in literature the effect was almost revolutionary; so that for the purposes of a rapid survey like the present it is convenient to make a rough division between the writings of the Darwinian and the pre-Darwinian periods. The latter covers the space from 1837 to about the year 1865, by which time the leading principles of the doctrine of evolution had become generally known even to persons who were without a systematic scientific training. Imaginative and creative literature flourished more vigorously in the earlier period. Before the later 'sixties the greater Victorian writers had, with a few exceptions, done much of their best and most characteristic work, and some had by this time ceased to do

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any work at all. Between 1837 and 1865 were published among other notable books of poetry, Tennyson's *Poems chiefly Lyrical, The Princess, In Memoriam, Maud*, the *Idylls of the King*, and *Enoch Arden;* Browning's *Sordello, Bells and Pomegranates*, and *Dramatis Personæ;* Matthew Arnold's two volumes of verse; and Swinburne's *Atalanta in Calydon.* Thackeray died December 24, 1863, and after the same date Dickens wrote nothing worthy of his genius except the unfinished *Mystery of Edwin Drood* in 1870, the last year of his life. Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* was published in 1847, her *Shirley* in 1849, *Villette* in 1853; Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights* in 1848. George Eliot's *Adam Bede* belongs to 1859, her *Mill on the Floss* to 1860, *Silas Marner* to 1861, *Romola* to 1863. The period between the beginning of the reign and 1865 also covers the publication of Macaulay's *History of England*, Buckle's *History of Civilisation*, Grote's *History of Greece*, Carlyle's *French Revolution, Past and Present, Oliver Cromwell*, and *Frederick the Great*, Newman's *Apologia pro Vita Sua*, the first portion of Froude's *History of England*, and Ruskin's *Modern Painters*, and *Stones of Venice.* Such are a few of the notable literary landmarks in a stretch of some seven-and-twenty years. Perhaps not more than twice before had Britain witnessed a larger amount of intellectual activity and versatile production crowded into so short a space of time.

These qualities of energy, versatility, vigorous vitality, were characteristic of the literature of this period. It was a literature ardent, animated, youthful, adventurous; inclined to over-sentiment and excessive emphasis; intensely conscious of the political and social movements of an age full of enthusiasm, of hopefulness, and of self-confidence, elated with material success, possessed by a passion for constructive effort, believing profoundly in the capacity of intelligence, reason, and properly regulated action to prevail over the difficulties alike of nature and of human nature. To this appreciation of "the days of advance, the works of the men of mind," the men of letters responded, sometimes with bitterness and hostility, sometimes with eager assent; but the sense of it seldom leaves them, and much of their finest writing is an attempt to examine modern progress in the light of the emotions and the imagination. The beginning of the reign almost synchronised with the

literary revival. The years that preceded it had been somewhat barren and unfruitful. Shelley, Keats, Byron, Scott, Coleridge were dead; Wordsworth, Southey, Moore, Landor, De Quincey were living, but their work was done. Poetry was running in a thin and shallow channel, and readers of verse seemed content with the fluent mediocrity of Felicia Hemans and Letitia Elizabeth Landon. These ladies were succeeded as popular favourites by Martin Tupper, whose success is among the curiosities of literature, since his prosaic and platitudinous rigmarole, *Proverbial Philosophy*, published in 1839, ran through forty editions during the next few years, and was said to have yielded the author a profit of over £20,000.

Deeper and stronger voices were soon to make themselves heard. Alfred Tennyson, born in 1809, had published his first volume of verse as early as 1827 and his second in 1830. In 1837 he was still only known to the general public as a youthful bard whose mannerisms had been sneered at by the most authoritative critical censors of the day. This phase of neglect and contempt ended in 1842, with the new edition of the *Poems*, containing many notable additions. From that time onward Tennyson's success was swift and unchecked. It was confirmed by the publication in 1847 of the attractive "medley," as its author called it, *The Princess*, which appealed to the public taste with its half-satirical story, its dramatic characterisation, its treatment of the insurgent individuality and intellectual claims of womanhood; and it captivated all ears with its exquisite lyrics. In 1850, on the death of Wordsworth, Tennyson became poet-laureate, and the same year he published *In Memoriam*, a collection of elegiac stanzas on his friend Arthur Hallam, the son of the historian. The poem contained many pieces of great beauty, and much of that thoughtful, if not always very profound, discussion of ethical and quasi-philosophical problems, which was one main cause of Tennyson's hold upon two generations of his contemporaries.

The same qualities, with a liberal admixture of the defects that went with them, were exhibited in *Maud*, issued in 1855, a poem severely and not unjustly criticised at the time of its appearance, though neither then nor afterwards was it possible to deny the charm of the descriptive and some of the lyrical passages. In 1859 came the first instalment of the *Idylls of the*

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King, a series of episodes from the Arthurian cycle of legends, which together make up the longest of Tennyson's poems. It revealed him as a writer of blank verse which, if it lacks the Miltonic majesty, has a Virgilian sweetness, a magic of structure, rhythm, and phrasing, never surpassed in English, and never equalled except it may be by Keats. The poet of *Hyperion* died too soon to develop the power within him to its fullest capacity. Tennyson lived long and worked on steadily and with widening reach almost to the end. In the 'sixties, the American poet, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, excelled him in popularity, especially with the great body of middle-class readers; but for nearly half a century Tennyson was the acknowledged chief bard of the English-speaking race, putting into finished verse the emotions and aspirations, the varied and conflicting tendencies, of the age. In his dramas between 1875 and 1884 he showed a consciousness of the new character which had been given to the study of English history; in *Tiresias*, published in 1885, in the later *Locksley Hall*, and in *Vastness* (1887), he is as much alive to the speculations and dubitations of the men of science, as he was to the "liberal movement" in politics and society in *Maud* and the *Princess*, and to the call of an inspiring historic patriotism in his *Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington*, and the *Revenge*. He died in 1892, when the ears of his countrymen were still quivering with the solemn lines of his *Crossing the Bar*, published three years earlier. He had been created a peer in 1884, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. The laureateship was conferred at the instance of Lord Salisbury, in 1896, on Mr. Alfred Austin, an upholder of the conservative tradition in literature and politics.

The second, or, as many would say, the first, great poet of the Victorian age gained recognition more slowly than Tennyson. Robert Browning was born in 1812, and his first volume, *Pauline*, was published in 1832. It fell quite unmarked, nor was any notice taken of *Paracelsus*, written when the author was three years older, and revealing many of the characteristics which remained with him to the end. In 1840 came *Sordello*, and this attracted attention only to be denounced for its extravagant formlessness. With the series called *Bells and Pomegranates*, literary London began to discover

Browning. In 1846 he married the poetess Elizabeth Barrett and settled in Florence, where he remained for fifteen years. After his return to England he published *Dramatis Personæ* in 1864, and the *The Ring and the Book* in 1869; and at length the public generally became aware of him. For the last twenty years of his life, which ended in 1889, Browning was not only a famous but to some extent a popular poet. Like Tennyson he was responsive to the voices of the age, and so, like him, he retained his mental alertness and intellectual interests fresh and vivid to the close; his *Asolando*, issued on the day of his death, December 16th, 1889, may claim rank with his finest poems. But the *Zeitgeist* meant far less to Browning than to the laureate. The individual human being was his subject rather than man considered as a social, a political, or a biological animal. Soul-dissection is his favourite pursuit, and he is so absorbed in it that he sometimes forgets to be a poet when writing poetry, and a dramatist when writing plays. In the lyric, at his best, he has seldom been surpassed; but he did not often care to give his best in point of form, and there is no refuting the verdict of the contemporary critics who denounced his verse for its needless roughness, its aggressive and uncomfortable neglect of the rhythmical amenities. Yet none of the Victorian poets had so pregnant a message to deliver, and few writers in any age have touched action and emotion, the strain and fulness of passion, with a bolder, a more searching hand.

Mrs. Browning achieved popularity before her husband. She was his senior by six years, but it was not till she was nearly forty that she published work of any importance. Her *Poems* of 1846, and another volume of 1850, were widely read; so was her *Casa Guidi Windows*, which appeared in 1851, during the residence of the Brownings in Florence, and *Aurora Leigh*, which is a kind of sociological novel in blank verse. As a "document" Mrs. Browning is in some ways more interesting to the historian than her husband. The great poets belong to all time, and even when their own world leaves its impress upon them it often touches them but lightly. But Mrs. Browning, alike in her sentimentalism, her humanitarianism, her ardent championship of nationalism and liberty, her peculiar blend of conventional and mildly rebellious morality, is the child, the female child, of her age. *Aurora Leigh*, *Lady Geraldine's Court-*

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ship, *The Cry of the Children*, *The Rhyme of the Duchess May*, almost "date" themselves. In virtue, not so much of her more popular works, but of her noble *Sonnets from the Portuguese* (1850) she may claim first place among the woman-poets of England. If the title can be disputed it would be by Christina Rossetti, a member of a gifted family of artists and scholars, whose poems were instinct with a spiritual sentiment and an artistic delicacy to which Mrs. Browning was a stranger.

Matthew Arnold, born thirteen years after Tennyson, had something of the Tennysonian spirit, but much more of the temper of Wordsworth. Arnold was a critic and essayist as well as a poet, and it was by his prose rather than his verse that he influenced the cultivated thought of his age. He preached the doctrines of lucidity, order, a sane and wholesome view of life, a genuine culture, instead of the "anarchy" which he thought menaced a society too much given up to material success and dominated by a narrow formalism in religion and morals. His two volumes of *Poems* which appeared in 1853, and his *New Poems* published in 1867, combine modernity of thought and feeling with a certain classical coldness and restraint. Like Tennyson, though with a far more restricted range and endowment, Matthew Arnold puts into lucid and limpid verse the "obstinate questionings" which beset so many of the finer minds of his age. One at least of his poems, *Thyrsis*, the elegy on his friend and brother-poet, Arthur Hugh Clough, holds its secure place in our literature not very far below Milton's *Lycidas* and Shelley's *Adonais*.

Classic in form, but essentially romantic in spirit, was the first notable work of Mr. Algernon Charles Swinburne. Born in 1837, he published a volume of poems in 1861, soon after leaving Oxford, and then in 1864 his *Atalanta in Calydon*, which gained attention at once with its splendid choral odes and songs. It was followed by *Chastelard* in 1866, by *Poems and Ballads* the same year, and by a long succession of dramas, narrative poems, and collections of lyrics, which have established the position of their author as perhaps the most triumphant master of artistic form who has ever dealt with English verse. In the handling of varied and original lyric metres, in steeping his lines in the very sense of colour, light, sound, and movement, he has no equal. With Swinburne may be mentioned the

two other writers of the middle portion of our period who belong even more conspicuously than himself to the class of artist-poets, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, born in 1828, and William Morris, born in 1834. All three were deeply influenced by that protest against conventionalism and insincerity in pictorial art which took to itself the name of the pre-Raphaelite movement. Rossetti himself was one of the three painters (the other two were John Everett Millais and William Holman Hunt) whose pictures in the spring of 1849 first revealed the aims and character of the new movement to the world. His *Poems*, published in 1870, though written long before, and his *Ballads and Sonnets*, which appeared in 1881, are the metrical transcripts of pre-Raphaelitism ; they brought back to our literature, as Rossetti's paintings and those of an even greater artist, Sir Edward Burne Jones, brought back to our painting, something of the intensity, the tenderness, and the mysticism of the age of Botticelli.

The medieval inspiration was equally strong in William Morris, whose *Defence of Guenevere*, published in 1858, has been called the manifesto of the pre-Raphaelite school in poetry. Morris wrote many other poems, of which the most notable is *The Earthly Paradise* (1866), a collection of stories founded to some extent on Chaucer, cast into a metrical form of much freedom and originality. Later in life and down to the last decade of the century (he died in 1896) Morris wrote a series of prose romances in a kind of poetical prose. He had other interests besides those of literature. He did more perhaps than any other man to purify and strengthen the decorative arts in England, and he endeavoured to find in socialism a means of regenerating society on an idealistic basis. As a poet he called himself "the idle singer of an empty day"; and though the estimate was too modest it had some justification. The poets here classed together regarded poetry as a form of art much more than what Matthew Arnold called "a criticism of life". It would be difficult to find another writer of anything approaching Mr. Swinburne's accomplishment in whom the form so completely prevails over the matter ; who has so little to say and says it in so many beautiful words. Oxford, the university of Swinburne and William Morris, was a centre of the cult of "art for art's sake," and it was from Oxford in the eighth decade of the century that Walter Pater, fellow

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of Brasenose, sent forth his essays and critical appreciations and his "spiritual biography," *Marius the Epicurean*, published in 1885, in which the æsthetic ideal is illustrated in prose of rare beauty and distinction.

Poetry did not constitute the favourite reading of the majority of the English people. Prose fiction obtained a vogue never before equalled, and the popularity of the novel, in some one or other of its multifarious forms, during the whole of the period under review was unbounded. In the interval between the death of Scott and the beginning of Queen Victoria's reign two young writers, destined to achieve eminence, had attracted much attention. Benjamin Disraeli had published his brilliant youthful novel, *Vivian Grey*, as early as 1826; in 1837 appeared *Henrietta Temple*, a sentimental love-story of remarkable effectiveness. Before public affairs absorbed most of his energies, Disraeli wrote *Coningsby* in 1844, *Sybil* in 1845, and several other stories; and he added to the series *Lothair* in 1870, and *Endymion* as late as 1880. These are political novels, dealing closely with the events of the writer's own time, and often introducing prominent personages under a thin disguise. Apart, however, from the interest thus aroused, they have a vivacity, an imaginative power, and a vigour of characterisation, which have kept them alive in spite of their inflated style. Disraeli, indeed, in the opinion of some good critics, "to party gave up what was meant for mankind," and might have achieved real greatness in literature if he had not preferred the career of politics.

Edward Lytton Bulwer, afterwards Lord Lytton, born a year before Disraeli, like him combined politics with letters. Some of his best novels, including *Pelham* and the popular *Last Days of Pompeii*, had appeared before 1837. He was a writer of extraordinary industry and extreme versatility, adapting himself with much success to the varying tastes of the day. He wrote historical romances like the *Last of the Barons*, criminal romances like *Eugene Aram*, fantasies like *The Coming Race*, and pictures of society and manners in *My Novel* and *The Caxtons;* besides verses and miscellaneous works, and at least three plays, *The Lady of Lyons*, produced in 1838; *Richelieu*, in 1839; and *Money*, in 1840. These dramas had a certain literary quality, and they did something to redeem the English stage from

the reproach of sheer mediocrity which could be justly urged against it till nearly the close of the century. Lytton died in 1873, and published books down to the last year of his life. His son Edward, first Earl of Lytton, the Governor-General of India from 1876 to 1880, was a poet of some originality and distinction. William Harrison Ainsworth, a contemporary of Disraeli and Lytton, like them gained a vogue at a comparatively early age. His *Rookwood* appeared in 1834, and for the next fifteen or twenty years his vigorous, unsophisticated, historical romances were widely read. James Grant and George Payne Rainsford James were also writers of books of war and adventure very popular with the uncritical part of the public. Charles Lever, born in Dublin in 1806, a writer of higher quality, came near to being a great novelist in some of his later works. His earlier stories of Irish life, *Harry Lorrequer* (1840), *Charles O'Malley* (1841), and others overflow with animal spirits and boisterous humour and give interesting though exaggerated pictures of society in Ireland.

Lytton and Disraeli had been writing ten years, when a novelist of more powerful and distinctive genius attracted universal attention. Charles Dickens, born in 1812, completed the publication of his *Pickwick Papers* in periodical form in 1837. The papers revealed to a delighted world a new satirical painter of character and manners, and a humorist of rare freshness and vivacity. They brought their author an immediate popularity, which went on growing with the years, until none of his contemporaries could compete with him in the interest excited by his works or the immense circulation they obtained, not merely in Great Britain but in nearly every civilised country. *Pickwick* was followed by *Oliver Twist* and *Nicholas Nickleby*, by the splendid reproduction of the past in *Barnaby Rudge*, and by *Martin Chuzzlewit* in 1843. In 1850 appeared *David Copperfield*, which exhibits the author's genius at its best. There was some falling off in the books of the next few years, though the fragment left unfinished at its author's death in 1870 is a masterpiece of mystery and terror. Dickens, like so many of his contemporaries, was a reformer, and much that he wrote was a protest against the abuses and anomalies of existing social and political institutions. To the historian his detailed and graphic pictures of the life of the poor and the middle-

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classes, caricatured and exaggerated as they often are, will be of inestimable value; such a transcript of a whole society is hardly to be found elsewhere, and as a painter of manners Dickens loses nothing by comparison with Smollett, Balzac, or Fielding. His purely artistic merits render the permanency of his position in our literature unquestionable. His style is unequal and sometimes bad, his pathos is frequently forced, and his errors in taste are numerous; but no English novelist has exhibited such a command of the grotesque and the terrible, a humour so original and fantastic, or on the whole a more fertile creative imagination.

William Makepeace Thackeray, the other great novelist of the same prolific quarter of a century that witnessed the efflorescence of Dickens, was longer in reaching the public ear, nor did he ever touch it with the same marvellous effect as his rival. Born in 1811, he did much miscellaneous work before *Vanity Fair*, published in 1847, achieved a considerable, though not a startling, success. The issue of *Pendennis*, 1848-1850, confirmed the writer's reputation, and *Esmond*, in 1852, perhaps the most skilfully finished historical romance in the English language, placed it on an unassailable foundation. Thackeray wrote three other fine novels and some admirable essays and occasional papers during the next eleven years of his life, which terminated when he was fifty-two. Dickens and Thackeray have often been bracketed together by way of contrast and comparison; and it is natural, if not quite fair to either, to consider them in this fashion. Each is in some respects the complement to the other. Dickens gives us the England of the "masses" and the *bourgeoisie*, the life of the slum, the inn-parlour, the lodging-house; Thackeray shows us the club, the mansion, the manners and customs of the genteel world, and of the world that would be genteel if it could. A man of scholarly tastes and much varied reading, Thackeray wrote in a style far more delicate, correct, and flexible than that of Dickens which was often colloquial and sometimes careless. Both writers were consummate artists who dealt with elements of human nature more lasting than those transient phases of its development they satirised or condemned.

The Victorian novel offered a wider field than had ever been open before to the literary activity of women. Charlotte

Brontë, the daughter of a Yorkshire clergyman, born in 1816, published *Jane Eyre* in 1847, and two other novels before she died too soon at the age of thirty-nine; her sister Emily was the author of *Wuthering Heights* which appeared in 1848. The stories of these sisters have originality and power, and a passionate intensity. Marian Evans, who wrote under the pseudonym of George Eliot, published her first and perhaps her best novel, *Adam Bede*, in 1859, and some others, marked by feeling and insight, a quiet humour, and a knowledge of English rural life, during the next few years. She was an earnest student of physiological science and of the Comtist philosophy, and the literary quality of her later novels was injuriously affected by her studies. Margaret Oliphant, in her series of novels, called the *Chronicles of Carlingford*, issued between 1863 and 1876, showed herself the disciple, and to some extent, the rival of George Eliot, with much of the same humour, pathos, and observation of character; but she wrote too freely and too fast, and her later works did not fulfil the promise of their predecessors. Mrs. Gaskell, born in 1810, nine years before George Eliot, and eighteen years before Mrs. Oliphant, was thirty-eight before she issued her first novel, *Mary Barton*, a striking study of social conditions in a great industrial centre; it was followed five years after by *Cranford*, an equally finished picture of manners in a country town, worked out with observant fidelity. Charlotte Mary Yonge, who was born in 1823 and died in 1901, in 1853 published *The Heir of Redclyffe*, which gained immediate success and was followed by nearly a hundred other novels and tales. Many of these were specially intended for young people; all had an ethical and religious tendency, and this combined with their pleasant domestic sentiment made them the favourite reading of many thousands of quiet-living families.

A novelist who achieved success in several forms of literature was Charles Kingsley, canon of Chester and of Westminster, and professor of modern history at Cambridge from 1860 to 1869. He wrote on history, public affairs, the study of nature, and controversial theology, and he was the author of some good ballads and other poems. In 1849 his two novels, *Alton Locke* and *Yeast*, gave expression to many current ideas on Chartism and the wrongs of the masses; and in 1855 he pub-

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lished *Westward Ho!* a glowing romance of Elizabethan adventure and seamanship. His younger brother Henry Kingsley, a novelist of higher originality and power, though of less reputation, published his best story, *Ravenshoe*, in 1861. The tradition and to some extent the method of Thackeray were taken up by Anthony Trollope (1815-1882), an industrious and prolific writer with a keen eye for character and detail, whose books contain unrivalled pictures of "upper middle-class" society in the mid-Victorian era. Charles Reade, another sedulous producer of fiction, published among many stories of varying degrees of merit, *The Cloister and the Hearth*, an admirable historical romance of the age of Erasmus. Wilkie Collins, James Payn, William Black, Richard Blackmore, Sir Walter Besant, Joseph Henry Shorthouse, and Eliza Lynn Linton were a group of novelists, most of them rather deeply influenced by Dickens and Thackeray, who filled to some extent the void left by their disappearance, and appealed especially to the growing taste for fiction in middle-class households between about 1865 and the close of the century.

The highest place among the writers whose productive activity was maintained through the second portion of the queen's reign can be claimed for George Meredith, born in 1828, and Thomas Hardy, born in 1840. Mr. Meredith published a volume of poems in 1851, his first work of fiction in 1855, his masterpiece, *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel*, in 1857, and many other notable novels during the succeeding forty years. Never popular with the general public, on account of a difficult and super-subtle style, Mr. Meredith has nevertheless been recognised as one of the great masters of the nineteenth century novel. Mr. Hardy, in his *Under the Greenwood Tree*, published in 1872, *Far from the Madding Crowd* (1874), and other stories of singular delicacy and charm, besides some poems and poetical dramas, laid his scenes in a tract of rural England which was still but little touched by the transforming movement of industrialism. The novelists grew in numbers, if they did not improve in quality, as the century wore on. Of those belonging wholly to its latter half, Robert Louis Stevenson, whose life of forty-four years ended in 1894, was in some ways the most remarkable, alike for the extreme distinction of his prose style and the alert freshness of his

romantic imagination; and many other clever men and some clever women cultivated the popular and profitable pursuit of prose fiction. The novel, however, bore witness to the change which passed over other literary forms. It showed more talent than genius, much art but little of the exuberant vigour of the earlier years. Some of the authors were conscientious and very earnest literary craftsmen; many others had no higher aim than to satisfy the voracious appetite of an uncritical, semi-educated public.

Several of the prose writers who exercised the widest influence in the earlier and middle part of the reign must be formally classed as historians. But they wrote also with distinct political, ethical, social, or æsthetic aims. Thomas Babington Macaulay, born in 1800, and raised to the peerage in 1857, two years before his death, was the literary exponent of the doctrine of liberal progress. His extraordinarily brilliant *Essays*, which began in the *Edinburgh Review* with an article on Milton in 1825, and were collected in 1843, and his splendid unfinished *History of England*, are alike instinct with the spirit of "progress" as it was conceived in the later whig tradition. Macaulay was an active politician, and as legal member of the council of India, member of parliament, and minister, he found opportunities for carrying some of his ideas into effect. The copyright act of 1842 is largely his work; so is the Indian criminal code, which he drafted during his term of office in the east, between 1834 and 1838; and so also is the Indian system of higher education, which he did much to shape. The first two volumes of his *History of England from the Accession of James II.* appeared in 1848, the third and fourth in 1855, the fifth, carrying the narrative no further than the end of William III.'s reign, after the author's death. No historical work has ever been more popular or more sharply criticised. Macaulay made no attempt at a judicial impartiality. His narrative of events, his judgments of character and motives were deeply coloured by his own prepossessions and prejudices. For those whom he disliked, or those whose conduct did not fit in with the scheme of things as interpreted by a healthy, hearty, progressive, thoroughly materialistic British patriotism, he had no mercy; he often over-stated facts, and sometimes misstated them. But he had the prime historical virtue of con-

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ceiving the past as a living reality, and he attempted to make his reproduction complete by building into it material of every kind. His style, rapid, antithetical, instinct with the writer's own "cocksure" confidence, has seldom been epualled for its point, its directness, its fierce, glittering lucidity, its power of bringing a picture or an argument straight home to the reader. Its influence on the form and manner of English prose composition was prodigious. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that no man can write to-day as he might have written if Macaulay had never lived.

Thomas Carlyle, born in 1795, had written *Sartor Resartus* some years before 1837, and in that year he published his *French Revolution*. Far less even than Macaulay, was Carlyle a critical or scientific historian. Yet the *French Revolution* was one of the books that gave a fresh impetus to historical study, for, erroneous and partial as was its treatment of events, it presented them with dramatic vigour, and it dealt with mankind in the mass, with peoples and classes, more than with rulers and institutions; and its interpretation of character and action is based upon a close, if not always properly instructed, research of documents. These qualities appear in Carlyle's later *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, and in his long and not altogether successful *Frederick the Great*, which occupied him between 1851 and 1865; and to a less extent in his *Past and Present* and his *Heroes and Hero Worship*. All these books were written in that strange poetical prose, irregular and occasionally uncouth, but pulsing with a living rhythm, and sometimes magnificently eloquent, which Carlyle invented for himself. His books were among the dynamic influences of the nineteenth century; for they are one long protest against insincerity, conventionality, and weakly acquiescence in "shams," an angry denunciation of shallow scepticism and the worship of mere material success.

Carlyle's style could not be imitated, but he had his disciples and devoted followers. Of these was James Anthony Froude, who did his master a doubtful service by collecting and publishing the unimportant details of his private life. Froude, who was educated at Oriel, and became a Fellow of Exeter in 1842, took deacon's orders, and was for a time under the influence of Newman; but he broke with the Church of England,

marked the breach by his *Nemesis of Faith* in 1849, and resigned his fellowship. His chief literary work is his *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Spanish Armada*, completed in 1869. Froude is often inaccurate in points of detail, and the graver charge has been made against him of misunderstanding or deliberately misquoting his references. In his *History*, and in other works he wrote, he was more anxious to convey his own moral than to exhibit the relation of events. But he could be as picturesque as Macaulay, and was one of the best prose writers of his time. An ardent Carlylean in his later years, in some respects more highly endowed than Froude or than Carlyle himself, was John Ruskin, who was born in 1819, and lived till the end of the century. His *Modern Painters* appeared in 1843, and his *Stones of Venice* in 1851. He was Slade professor at Oxford for ten years, and his main interest in life and the subject of his chief earlier works is the history and criticism of the graphic, plastic, and decorative arts. But he was also a social reformer and a crusader against the modern industrial spirit. In 1871 he began a series of letters "to the workmen and labourers of Great Britain," under the title of *Fors Clavigera*, intended to inculcate the virtues of honesty, sincerity, and altruism. His style reflected the reaction against utilitarian economics which he represented. It is ornate, rhetorical, and charged with colour beyond that of any English writer since the seventeenth century.

History, understood as philosophy, or perhaps as politics, "teaching by examples," was the occupation of George Grote and Henry Thomas Buckle, who wrote from the extreme radical standpoint. Grote, a banker and member for the city of London in the first reformed parliament, published his *History of Greece* between 1846 and 1856. It brings home the politics of the Greek cities in a life-like fashion; but it is not unfairly described as a vast party pamphlet, intended to exalt democracy. It achieved a reputation never gained by the more scholarly, and in many respects more able, *History of Greece* by Grote's school-fellow and contemporary, Connop Thirlwall, Bishop of St. David's. Buckle, like Grote, a Londoner and a man of means, devoted his life to the composition of the *History of Civilisation in England*, planned on

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an immense scale. He died, however, in 1862, at the age of forty-one, having written only two volumes of what was intended to be a broad introductory survey. The book shows the result of omnivorous, ill-disciplined reading, and a taste for the boldest generalisation. Its author, who was largely influenced by the positivist philosophy of Comte, believed that everything was due to purely "natural" causes, and that by a proper investigation of these, combined with a determined contempt for religion, the explanation of all historical phenomena could be reached. The work had a transient but extensive vogue; it chimed in with the sentiment that animated a considerable number of middle-class Englishmen, and its parade of learning gave it a kind of authority, especially with those who did not know that the learning was rather crude.

History began to grow scientific in a different sense from that in which the term was understood by Buckle. Such writers as Dr. Thomas Arnold, the famous headmaster of Rugby, and the father of Matthew Arnold, the first two volumes of whose luminous *Roman History* were published in 1838-43, Dean Milman, whose *History of Latin Christianity* (1854-55) deals comprehensively, though not always impartially, with a large subject, and George Finlay, whose *History of Greece* carries the narrative over two thousand years, are links between the new and the old school of English historians. They were the intellectual descendants of Gibbon, but they felt the impulse imparted by German scholars who regarded history as a whole and at the same time studied it in detail with all the assistance afforded by philological, antiquarian, and statistical research. As the works of Niebuhr, Savigny, and Ranke became better known in England, the legal and political conception of history widened, and the treatment of documents and authorities became more critical and more fruitful. Two men of commanding ability and indefatigable industry were the leading representatives of this school. William Stubbs, born in 1825, regius professor of history at Oxford in 1866, Bishop of Chester in 1884, and Bishop of Oxford in 1889, published his invaluable *Constitutional History of England* in 1874-78. This great treatise, which is hardly likely to be superseded as the standard authority on the subject, is a monument of judicial impartiality, comprehensive learning, and

careful investigation of evidence. His series of masterly prefaces to the Master of the Rolls' editions of various medieval chronicles, placed Stubbs at the head of the movement for examining and classifying the sources of English history on which many other able men were engaged. His friend and fellow-worker, Edward Augustus Freeman, was born in 1823, and was regius professor at Oxford from 1884 to his death in 1892. Ardent, impetuous, an extreme and sometimes fanatical liberal, apt to use history in support of his political theories, he was very unlike the cautious, conservative bishop. But he was not inferior to Stubbs in industry, and his interests were wider. He had traversed the whole field of ancient and modern history, and wrote with the same confident grasp of federal government in Greece, of the Saracen conquests, of the origins of the English constitution, and of the politics of the Italian republics. His principal work is his voluminous and minutely elaborated *History of the Norman Conquest of England*, published between 1867 and 1879. Freeman's style has few literary graces; but his narrative manner is often vigorous and animated, and he gives many picturesque studies of character.

Oxford, which can take some credit for the work of Stubbs and Freeman, was also the university of Samuel Rawson Gardiner, a learned and conscientiously accurate historian, who devoted himself to reconstituting the history of England in the earlier half of the seventeenth century. Yet another Oxford scholar was Mandell Creighton, fellow of Merton, afterwards Dixie professor of ecclesiastical history at Cambridge, Bishop of Peterborough in 1891, and Bishop of London from 1897 to his death in 1901. His *History of the Papacy during the Period of the Reformation* (issued 1882-94) was only completed to the year 1527. Though a fragment, it is a valuable work in which an immense body of material is handled with learning and sound method. Cambridge found in Sir John Seeley, appointed professor of modern history in 1869, a writer who possessed the German comprehensiveness and the English precision. His *Life and Times of Stein*, issued in 1879, achieved a great reputation abroad as well as at home. The vivacity which he withheld from his histories, Seeley displayed in his writings on theology and politics, as in his famous *Ecce Homo*, issued anonymously in 1865, and in *The Expansion of*

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England, eighteen years later, a broad and attractive sketch of the development of Britain as a world-empire. From Trinity College, Dublin, came William Edward Hartpole Lecky, M.P. for Dublin University in 1895, whose comprehensive *History of Rationalism in Europe*, published in 1865, and *History of European Morals*, in 1869, were followed, 1878-90, by the *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, particularly valuable for its handling of Irish affairs. John Richard Green, an able worker in the same fields as Freeman and Stubbs, in his brilliantly written *Short History of the English People* (1874), Macaulayesque in style, and not always impeccable in its handling of facts, brought home the results of the new method of historical study to a multitude of readers.

Philosophy, even more than history and imaginative letters, was coloured and modified by the prevalent intellectual interests of the age. At the beginning of the reign the influence of the writers of the previous half-century was strongly felt, and the ideas of Whately, James Mill, Bentham, and the "Scottish school" of Reid, were dominant. John Stuart Mill, born in 1806, was the exponent in the ethical and political sphere of that utilitarian philosophy, based mainly on experience, with which his father had recast the theories of Locke and Hartley. In 1843 he published his *System of Logic*, notable for the emphasis in which he insists on induction as the basis of all ratiocinative knowledge. Five years later he issued his *Political Economy*, an exposition of the English "orthodox" system of economics, based on Adam Smith's general principles, modified by Ricardo, Malthus, Bentham, and Mill's own temperament, which was little in sympathy with the rigid materialism of his school. His *Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy*, which appeared in 1865, was an energetic defence of the doctrine of the association of ideas, and a resolute attack on idealism. Mill's political treatises, *On Liberty* and *Representative Government*, were a vindication, not without important reserves, of the *laissez-faire* and individualistic principles. His candour and sincerity, the logical directness of his argument, and the admirable lucidity of his style, gave him a profound influence over the political and ethical thought of his generation. He was regarded as the philosophic exponent and defender of progressive liberalism.

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But even before Mill's own life closed in 1873, he had been largely superseded. Science was looking for a more scientific dialectic, and found it, or thought it had found it, in one closely associated with the discoveries in physics and natural history. Herbert Spencer, born in 1820, published his *Social Statics* in 1850, and the first volume of his *Principles of Psychology* in 1855. Working on the doctrine of evolution, which had been already suggested by Goethe, Erasmus Darwin, Lamarck, and others, and by Comte in his *Philosophie Positive*, Spencer endeavoured to account for all organic development on mechanical principles, as "a change from a state of homogeneity to a state of heterogeneity". The problem in the biological field had been for some years engaging the attention of two naturalists, Alfred Russel Wallace and Charles Darwin, who arrived, simultaneously and independently, at the same conclusion. The publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection* showed that evolution, as applied to the development of plants and animals, was an hypothesis consistent with the known facts of biological science. Darwin himself confined his researches to the organic world. In 1871 he published *The Descent of Man*, in which he traced back the origin of the human species to a quadrumanous animal related to the anthropoid apes. The physicists and mathematicians carried the principle into the inorganic universe, powerfully aided by the recognition, through the researches of Faraday on electromagnetism, and those of Joule, Sir William Thomson, afterwards Lord Kelvin, and Helmholtz in Germany, on the law of the conservation of energy. The conclusion reached was that matter and force were alike indestructible and uncreatable. In 1860 Spencer issued the prospectus of his *System of Synthetic Philosophy*, and subsequently published various instalments of the vast scheme, dealing with biology, psychology, ethics, and sociology; but his long life of eighty-three years was too short for him to complete what was intended to be nothing less than a systematic exposition and survey of the universe.

Indirectly, by the effect it produced on many gifted intellects, and through them on the world at large, the evolutionary philosophy pervaded all departments of intellectual activity. It stimulated research in many directions. Sir Henry Maine in his *Ancient Law*, published in 1861, and in his *Early History*

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of Institutions, traced the origin of customs and legal conceptions. Thomas Henry Huxley worked at the Darwinian theory in zoology, biology, and botany, and expounded it with a higher degree of literary skill than either Darwin or Spencer possessed. John Tyndall, whose *Heat a Mode of Motion* in 1863 was a remarkable contribution to physics, interpreted the new doctrines in widely read monographs and popular lectures.

Metaphysics, philosophic idealism, and belief in revealed religion seemed for a time shaken by this rapid onward march of science. Materialism found its ardent champions in Huxley and Tyndall, who were bitterly hostile not only to Christianity but to all transcendental explanations of phenomena. The mechanical theory reached its culminating point with Tyndall's presidential address to the British Association at Belfast in 1874. But a reaction set in and grew in strength during the next two decades. Even while some of the Spencerian evolutionists were endeavouring to establish psychology as an exact science, based on physiology or biology, metaphysics was reviving through the closer study of Kant, Fichte, and Hegel. Thomas Hill Green, professor of moral philosophy at Oxford from 1877 to 1882, by his lectures and his masterly *Prolegomena to Ethics*, was building up a new school of idealist philosophy when his work was cut short by premature death. Religion, after partially reconciling itself with the evolutionary theory, was able to insist that this comprehensive hypothesis could explain processes, or some of them, but not first causes: it had not penetrated to the origin of things or demonstrated the existence of a cosmos of matter from which mind and spirit could be eliminated.

This revulsion the later speculations of science itself assisted; since they tended to postulate an extra-natural ultimate cause for the motion without which it seemed there could be neither matter nor force. The mechanical synthesis seemed more inadequate as fresh discoveries were made in electricity, radiant energy, and the structure of atoms; and some of the most eminent of the physicists and naturalists, and even Spencer himself in his later writings, maintained that behind all phenomena was either an unknowable mystery or a spiritual Power. Science still reigned over the intellectual world; but it was a science less dogmatic and confident on those subjects which lay beyond the reach of observation and experience.

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Whether from this or other causes there were signs that literature was once more coming into touch with serious questions and living interests instead of devoting itself, as it had shown a tendency to do since the death or silence of the greater prose writers and poets, mainly to the amusement and entertainment of its readers. Dramatists, novelists, and essayists began to occupy themselves afresh with problems of conduct and morals as applied to the life of societies and individuals. One able band of young writers brought imaginative gifts to the discussion of social reform and in some cases of social revolution. Others were swept up by the rising tide of imperialism. Among the popular authors of the last ten or twelve years of the nineteenth century were Mrs. Humphry Ward, a grand-daughter of Dr. Arnold, of Rugby, and a niece of Matthew Arnold, who boldly handled questions of theology and politics in several of her novels; H. G. Wells, who in a series of fantastic tales and Utopian romances attempted a picture of society systematically reconstructed in the light of scientific knowledge and sociological investigation; George Bernard Shaw, whose plays, powerfully influenced by those of the Norwegian dramatist Ibsen, had a somewhat similar motive; and Rudyard Kipling, who preached the gospel of empire in clever stories and ringing verses.

Periodical literature broadened into a stream of unnavigable volume after the middle of the century. The *Quarterly* and the *Edinburgh* retained their literary merits, though in part superseded in their hold on the public favour by their rivals, the older monthlies, like *Blackwood's* and *Fraser's*, and afterwards by a younger group of magazines and reviews, the *Cornhill*, *Macmillan's*, the *Contemporary*, the *Fortnightly*, the *Nineteenth Century*, and others; and these were supplemented by literary and critical weekly journals, such as the *Athenæum*, the *Saturday Review* and the *Spectator*. The repeal of the paper duty put new life into the newspaper press. Most of the daily journals (the *Times* remaining a conspicuous exception) gradually reduced their price to a penny, and some of them attained an enormous circulation. The diffusion of popular instruction by the elementary education acts gave a fresh stimulus to journalistic enterprise. Monthly, weekly, and daily journals were published at a price and of a quality suited to the vast masses who had now acquired a taste for reading of some kind; the

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magazine and the newspaper were to be found everywhere, in the homes of the working people as well as in those of the middle classes. The mechanics' institutes and working-men's clubs were supplemented, after the acts of 1845 and 1850, by free libraries, supported by rate aid, in many towns. This cheapening and wholesale dissemination of printed matter may have had some connexion with the literary decline which has been noted. Many able men were engaged in merely supplying the popular demand; many others were absorbed in ephemeral journalism. The rights of literature as a profession received legislative recognition in 1842, when the copyright act was passed which gave writers protection against the unauthorised reproduction of their works for a minimum period of forty-two years after publication.

In its practical application to industry and the arts of life, science made even more rapid progress after the first third of the nineteenth century than in the domain of theory and speculation. The foundation, it is true, had been already laid, by the mechanical genius which gave Great Britain the first use of the spinning-frame and mule, the power-loom, the puddling-furnace, the rolling-mill, and the steam-engine. These great inventions were now carried farther and their utility extended in every direction. It was particularly in the development of locomotion and the means of rapid communication that the Victorian period transcended all its predecessors. Steam had been applied to river and sea transport for some years and the first steamship had crossed the Atlantic as early as 1819. It was not, however, for another twenty years, that the marine engine was considered suitable for adoption on a large scale. In 1840 the Peninsular and Oriental Company for trading to the East by means of steam vessels was formed. In 1843 the *Great Britain* was provided with a screw-propeller, and this economical form of propulsion was adopted for the transport of cargo as well as passengers. Sail-power continued to be employed, owing to its economy in working, down to the end of the century, but it was more and more encroached upon by steam, until by 1900 the steam tonnage of the United Kingdom was 7,207,610 and the sailing tonnage only 2,096,498. The decline of the American mercantile marine after the civil war left England without a formidable rival in the carrying trade, until the rapid advance

of the German merchant navy some thirty years later. Before the Crimean war line-of-battle ships had already begun to be fitted with auxiliary screws. Ten years later the navy was being transformed into one of steam-driven ironclads, and as the armour and guns increased in weight sails gradually disappeared. The turbine engine, an invention scarcely less remarkable than that of the screw-propeller, brought out in the closing years of the nineteenth century, did not begin to be applied to large vessels till a few years later.

The locomotive steam-engine made slower progress at first than the steam-ship. The steam-driven road-carriage and the tramway for horse-traction had both been known for some time before George Stephenson put the steam-engine on the rails. In 1830 the Manchester and Liverpool railway was opened. In 1836 came the beginning of the railway "mania" which continued for several years and culminated in a violent crisis of over-speculation in 1845. Much money was wasted and many abortive schemes were attempted; but it was in this period that England was covered with a net-work of railways and the stage-coach was extinguished. In 1844 Gladstone's cheap trains act was passed, compelling the railway companies to run a certain number of trains daily on which third-class passengers should be carried at a maximum fare of a penny a mile. They were to be conveyed in covered carriages instead of the open trucks previously provided for them. From this time onwards the third-class traffic increased, and eventually the receipts derived from it dwarfed those obtained from first and second-class passengers. Most of the great trunk-lines had been opened by 1850. The steam-engine, in its stationary and locomotive forms, underwent many further improvements. It was supplemented by the petrol-engine and the electric motor, both brought to a high state of efficiency after 1890. The former was extensively applied to automobile carriages for use on ordinary roads; the latter, by means of electric energy transmitted from central generating-stations, gave fresh impetus to tramways, and rendered them serious competitors with the railways in urban and suburban passenger transit.

Electricity in all its developments made even more remarkable progress than steam, especially in the third and fourth quarters of the century. The electric battery and afterwards

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the dynamo enabled power to be produced rapidly and diffused economically and safely for manifold purposes, industrial, domestic, and national. The first electric lighting act, which did more to check progress than to assist it, was carried in 1882. After an amending act had been passed in 1888, and a board of trade inquiry held in the following year, the employment of electric power for public and private illumination extended rapidly. The electric telegraph, patented by Wheatstone and Cooke in 1837, was first applied for the transmission of messages in 1844 along a line from Paddington to Slough. Wheatstone's dial-plate and needle were superseded by the Morse electro-magnetic system and code, invented in America. Before the end of 1845, five hundred miles of wire were at work in England. The Electric Telegraph Company with a minimum tariff of twenty words for a shilling was established in 1846. The electric telegraph act of 1868 authorised the postmaster-general to purchase the property of the companies, and the act of the following year made the privilege of transmission a monopoly of the government. In 1870 the lines were accordingly purchased and placed under the control of the post-office. Six years afterwards there were over a hundred thousand miles of wires in the United Kingdom. In 1885 the minimum charge for a message was reduced to sixpence.

The telephonic system was adopted in England more slowly than in some other countries. Several companies were established in 1880; but the government maintained that the monopoly established by the telegraph acts applied to this and other methods of electric signalling and the contention was upheld by the high court of justice. Licences were granted to companies and private users by the post-office, which also reserved the power to establish a competing service of its own. The letter-carrying branch of the post-office increased enormously after the uniform penny rate came into operation on January 10, 1840. In two years the number of letters had risen from 75,000,000 per annum to 196,500,000, in seven years it had become 329,000,000, and it continued to grow steadily. Postal cards were introduced in 1870, and the parcel post was established in 1883. In 1838 the money-order department of the post-office was instituted, and the rates, originally very high, were reduced in 1840, and again in 1871; and in 1880 postal

notes were introduced. Post-office savings banks were first opened in 1861 under the provisions of an act of parliament passed in that year. They proved a great success from the first, and their operations were subsequently extended so as to include life-insurance business, annuities, and the purchase of limited amounts of government stock for their depositors.

The mechanical inventions and particularly the improvement of means of communication and transport gave powerful assistance to the process which had been going on since the end of the eighteenth century and led to a further transfer of population from the villages to the towns; so that by 1901 seventy-seven per cent. of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom were resident in urban districts. While the towns and their suburbs showed a rapid increase at each decennial enumeration, the purely agricultural areas (including the whole of Ireland, except the north-eastern corner) were almost stationary or actually retrogressive. The opening up of new countries, and the development of ocean and railway transport worked together to bring into England the supplies of cheap foreign food and raw materials which were as valuable to the manufacturers as they were detrimental to the agricultural interest. The acreage under wheat and other grain crops declined steadily, and the labourers left the land to seek employment in the mills and factories. National prosperity, as measured by manufacturing production and the statistics of imports and exports, was at a higher level than it ever before attained in the year 1873, when Great Britain was called upon to make good the destruction of capital caused by the Franco-German war. But in the years that followed a succession of bad harvests told heavily on agriculture, and prices were further depressed by the extension of wheat growing in the United States, now pouring grain into England.

There was no permanent recovery in the rural industry after this. In 1874 the area under wheat in the United Kingdom was 3,821,655 acres, as against about 4,000,000 fifteen years earlier; twenty years later it had fallen by considerably more than half. Other arable crops also declined, though not to the same extent. The American supplies and improved transport at length brought down the price of corn, which up to the later 'seventies was higher than it had been

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immediately after the abolition of the preferential rate for the colonies. In 1849 wheat stood at 40s. 3d. the quarter; in 1874 it was at 55s. 9d., and in 1877 at 56s. 9s. Ten years afterwards it was as low as 32s. 6d., and in 1894 it was under 23s. The average freight rate per quarter by steamer from New York to Liverpool fell from 5s. 6d. in 1871 to 10d. in 1901.[1] The imports of wheat per head of population doubled, and the imports of meat quadrupled, between 1870 and the end of the century. The manufacturing production and shipping trade varied inversely with the agricultural decline. In the half-century the output of pig-iron rose from an annual average of 66,000,000 tons to an annual average of 202,000,000; and the amount of raw cotton required to feed the spindles of Great Britain increased from 750,000,000 to 1,646,000,000 pounds. The total annual average of all British exports in 1901 was rather more than double that of fifty years earlier. The value of land, as shown in the assessment for income tax, was £11,000,000 lower in 1899 than it had been in 1869, though the gross value of property and profits assessed had risen by £363,000,000. The general wealth and productive activity of the country were growing, but the agricultural interest had no share in this expansion.

The concentration of great numbers of people in the towns and manufacturing centres, and the competition to make profit out of their labour, led to many evils and abuses, which were almost at their worst about the year of the accession of Queen Victoria to the throne. During the course of her reign continuous efforts were made to improve the condition of the industrial classes, partly by legislation, partly by philanthropic agencies, partly by their own organised action. Of the factory acts, by which the labour of women and children was brought within tolerable limits, and regulations made for the protection of life and health, something has been already said in preceding chapters. Not less valuable were the various measures dealing with sanitation, housing, and street improvements. Many acts were passed to protect special classes of labourers, such as those regulating work in mines and prohibiting underground labour for women, and those dealing with merchant shipping, bake-

[1] *United States Statistical Abstract*, 1902.

houses, brick-fields, canal boats, and dangerous trades. An important series concerned friendly societies. An act of 1846 considerably extended their privileges, and gave a legal sanction to various private provident associations. In 1875 a registrar of friendly societies was appointed, with instructions to publish an annual report showing the financial position and liabilities of such bodies as were willing to submit their accounts. Co-operative associations were recognised by the friendly societies act of 1846, and further stimulated by an act of 1852, which gave them power to carry on businesses of various kinds, including that of life assurance. The associations availed themselves of their rights to the full. Some of them developed into gigantic retail trading and distributing agencies, with large capitals held by working-men shareholders, and administered by their nominees and representatives. Co-operative production has never been so effective as co-operative distribution; but several of the societies became successful manufacturers and employers of labour on an important scale. CHAP. XX.

The trade unions were as a rule provident and benefit societies as well as organisations for protecting the interests of their members and raising the rate of wages. Owing to their precarious legal position, even after the repeal of the combination acts in 1825, they were long regarded with suspicion and partook of the nature of secret societies. For thirty years after the conviction of the six Dorchester labourers in 1834 for having illegally administered an oath the unions bore traces of their early connexion with Owenism, Chartism, and other political propaganda, sometimes illicit or extra-legal. The Sheffield outrages of 1866 called public attention to their proceedings and caused a wave of resentment against trade unionism to pass through the employing and propertied classes. The feeling was reflected on the judicial bench, which decided that the unions had no legal status and no remedy against fraud or malversation by their own officials, being associations "in restraint of trade" which could not claim the protection of the law. A royal commission was appointed, and its report was so far favourable that it gave legal recognition to trade unions if their rules did not include provisions unduly restricting the freedom of workmen or employers.

In 1871, under strong radical pressure, the Gladstone

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government passed the trade union act, which gave full legal protection to the funds of the societies; at the same time the offences of coercion and intimidation were rigidly defined and severe penalties enacted against them by the criminal law amendment act. This measure was repealed by the next ministry, and the trade union acts of 1875 and 1876 admitted the lawfulness of picketting, if unaccompanied by violence or intimidation, and the general right of workmen to combine in order to raise wages or alter the conditions of employment by lawful means. With the freedom and protection thus granted, associations of some of the great trades became very powerful. The miners, the textile operatives, the engineers, the shipbuilders, the boiler-makers and others were able to bring pressure to bear upon the employers and to secure better wages and easier hours of labour. If their terms were refused they could and did organise strikes of the most formidable character, such as that by which the Amalgamated Society of Engineers almost paralysed the industry of the north-east of England for some months in 1871, and eventually obtained the concession of the "nine hours' day". These unions, mainly of artisans and skilled workmen, were at the height of their prosperity during the years that followed. They did not always use their success well. Too many of their strikes were ill-judged and vexatious, and much of the money subscribed for benefit purposes was wasted over fruitless campaigns against the masters. Moreover the unions were to some extent oligarchical; they showed a tendency to convert themselves into privileged craft-guilds and to improve their own position at the expense of the mass of unorganised labour outside their corporations.

As the tide of industrial prosperity waned in the eighth decade of the century, a change set in. New unions of the unskilled workmen and manual labourers were formed. In 1889 occurred the great strike of the London dock labourers, a miserable body of unskilled workers. Public opinion was powerfully affected, alike by the sufferings of the dockers and by the evidence given of organisation and capable leadership in the lowest ranks of the labour army. The "new unionism" grew rapidly; its principles and ideas permeated the older bodies; and at the annual congresses of trade societies from 1890 it was frequently

able to maintain its own opinions against the older associations, and eventually its views were, to a large extent, accepted by them. Its spokesmen repudiated political neutrality and individualistic theory. Many of them were strongly socialistic in their aims, and held that the condition of the workers should be improved by the direct action of the state even more than by private effort. They frequently succeeded in carrying with them the majority of the trade union delegates at the congress in resolutions recommending the nationalisation of land, of railways, and of mining royalties, and the fixing of the hours of adult labour by legislation. Both parties in parliament showed themselves sensitive to the trade union vote, though it was not till after the end of the queen's reign that there was a strong labour group at Westminster. The political issues and divisions were still uppermost, even in the minds of the trade union voters themselves, at parliamentary elections. In local affairs the "collectivist" idea was allowed fuller scope. Municipal functions were widely extended, especially in directions which touched the life of the working-class population. Free libraries, baths, recreation-grounds, museums, were provided out of the rates; the local authorities undertook the supply of gas, water, electric light, public locomotion and working-men's dwellings. The municipalities themselves became large employers of labour, and they were, as a rule, willing to recognise the authority of the trade unions to the extent of agreeing to pay not less than the current union rate of wages to those in their service.

Notwithstanding all that was accomplished by municipal and parliamentary action, and by the other agencies mentioned, the condition of a considerable portion of the labouring population, especially in the great towns, remained unsatisfactory. The remuneration of the unskilled workers was strikingly below the level of the wages earned by the superior class of artisans, and their employment was often precarious and uncertain. The "casual" labourer and the "unemployed" presented the same perplexing problem winter after winter in London and the seaport towns. In the early 'eighties, while the decline of agriculture was fast emptying the villages, there was much consciousness of distress. The poverty was certainly not nearly so acute as it had been at the beginning of the century or in the

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earlier part of the queen's reign; but the "social conscience" was more sensitive, and the sight, or even the thought, of suffering was less easily borne. Much was done by philanthropic effort to relieve the distress and improve the condition of the urban "residuum". It was felt that the well-to-do classes ought to devote not merely money but personal effort to the service of their poorer neighbours. An impulse was given to this movement by Arnold Toynbee, a young Oxford economist, who attracted about him a band of enthusiastic disciples. Toynbee died at the age of thirty-one in 1883; but his friends founded a university "settlement" in a poor London district in his memory, and this institution was followed by others of a similar character. The organisation known as the Salvation Army was established by "General" William Booth, a Nottingham methodist preacher, in 1878. The "Army" was a combination of theatrical sensationalism, religious revivalism and genuine philanthropic activity. Vulgar as were some of its methods, it did much hard work, especially among the classes whom the churches and the charitable agencies had failed to touch, though it may be doubted whether the results it achieved were commensurate with the vast expenditure incurred. The Salvation Army was largely recruited from the nonconformist communities. A similar organisation, on a more modest scale and with more modest methods, was the Church Army, organised by the clergy.

Emigration never again during the century reached the immense proportions it attained during the years which included and immediately succeeded the Irish famine. In 1854 the number of emigrants from the United Kingdom was still as high as 267,047, or 0·97 per cent. of the population. Thereafter with good trade and agriculture still prosperous it declined rapidly. In 1859 the total had fallen to about 97,000, or 0·48 per cent., and for the five years 1875-79, the annual average was only 0·37 per cent. Then the bad times set in and emigration responded automatically, rising to 0·75 per cent. during the next quinquennium, and showing a total of 320,000 for the single year 1883. Subsequently emigration again steadily diminished and fell to an annual average of 0·39 per cent. during the last years of the century, with a total of 146,362 for 1899. The depletion of the agricultural districts as well as

the influx to the towns had reduced the volume, and to a great extent changed the character, of British emigration to the United States and the colonies. Nor was there the same necessity for drawing off the surplus of population, for the increase was slackening. The birth rate showed a perceptible and even remarkable decline towards the close of the period. It had been 37·89 per thousand in 1871-81, and was only 31·57 in 1891-1901. There was a simultaneous fall in the death rate, largely owing to improved sanitation, from 22·80 in the former period to 19·18 in the latter. The birth rate was therefore decreasing faster than the death rate, and the "natural increase of population," that is the excess of births over deaths,[1] was proceeding at a slower pace. Great Britain seemed tending towards that stationary condition which had been already reached in France.

"The people are better paid; they work fewer hours; they are better fed, clothed and housed; they are better educated; their habits and customs are improved; their sports and pastimes are no longer brutal and demoralising. The children and women are better cared for and better treated. The wheels of progress have gone on and on with accelerated speed." So wrote a radical politician, who had been a cabinet minister, and a labour member of parliament, in a contribution to a volume published at the time of Queen Victoria's first jubilee.[2] Fourteen years later this confident note, an echo of the mid-century buoyant meliorism, was less often heard. Yet the material and social improvement which had been achieved could not be gainsaid. It was true enough that the food, clothing, and housing of a great portion of the population were all far better than they had been sixty years before. Wages in many occupations were higher, the necessaries of life had fallen in price, and comforts and luxuries of many kinds were more widely diffused. The half-enslaved, half-starved workman of the earlier part of the nineteenth century had become a well-paid artisan, usually in a position to provide himself and his family with meat and wheaten bread, and with such imported articles of consumption as sugar, tea,

[1] *Census of England and Wales, 1901; General Report*, p. 16.

[2] The Right Hon. A. J. Mundella, M.P., and Mr. George Howell, M.P., in Ward's *Reign of Queen Victoria*, ii., 82.

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cocoa, and tobacco. Sanitation and the care of the local authorities had rendered his home healthier, and public infirmaries and hospitals and charitable agencies secured him proper medical attendance when he fell ill. His children were educated at no cost to himself, and if his wife and daughters worked in factories they were protected by legislation and vigilant inspection against excessive hours of toil and unwholesome conditions of employment. The individuality, economic and personal, of women was better recognised both by law and custom, and it had become far easier for them to release themselves from masculine dependence, to obtain the control of their own property, and to make full use of their capacities in industrial, mercantile, and professional occupations.

Nor again could it be denied that the general tone of manners and the standard of at least external civilisation had risen. There was more refinement, and less coarseness, brutality, and gross animalism among all classes above the lowest. Intoxication was no longer regarded as a venial offence in polite society; habits of moderation and personal restraint were cultivated; even self-indulgence assumed a less degrading form. Lighter stimulants came into vogue and the enjoyment of tea and tobacco, though perhaps carried to excess, helped to diminish the consumption of heavy wines, beer, and spirits. The labouring population was slower in releasing itself from the abuse of alcohol, which was terribly prevalent in times of industrial prosperity; but here also there was improvement, and though too much drink was consumed, the convictions for drunkenness steadily declined. The recreations of all classes assumed a more rational and on the whole a more salutary form. Music was cultivated as it had not been in England since the seventeenth century; theatres multiplied everywhere; so did art galleries, museums, and public libraries, many of them maintained and directed by the municipal corporations. The taste for open-air pursuits of all kinds became a national passion or, as some thought, a national craze; sport and athletics were the preoccupation, in some shape or other, of millions. Hundreds of thousands of persons were to be found looking on at cricket matches in summer, and at football in the winter; at the schools and universities these games were played with a zest that edu-

cational reformers sometimes deplored. The weakening effects of town life were in part mitigated by the prevalent appetite for rural holidays, and by the opportunities for enjoying them furnished by the motor-car, the bicycle, and the cheap excursion by rail and steamer.

At the end of our survey we leave the English people more freely supplied with material comforts than ever before, wealthier, better instructed, perhaps gentler, more refined in their habits, less tolerant of roughness and cruelty. Whether they were in essentials wiser, more upright, more faithful, more courageous, more capable, and in general happier, history is not as yet in a position to determine. At the close of the queen's reign the symptoms were not all favourable. Fashionable society had in some respects deteriorated since the middle of the century; there was much complaint of its frivolity, its want of dignity, its extravagance, its vulgar worship of riches, its lack of interest in the intellectual and spiritual side of life. A certain disregard of everything which did not tend to pleasure or worldly success, an overstrained delight in amusement and excitement, seemed to be characteristic of all classes. There were those who said that the English nation, too closely lapped in comfort and security, had lost much of its energy, and was no longer capable of the great achievements of the past, either in the sphere of thought or of action. They urged that the progress, so loudly acclaimed, had been partial in its operation and results; for those improvements in social and material conditions which have been mentioned had passed by the lowest stratum of the population. Official and private inquiries[1] showed that, while the artisans and trained workmen were on the whole well-off, the unskilled and casual labourers weltered too often in a slough of poverty and physical degradation, so that the leader of the liberal party early in the ensuing reign could declare that over twelve millions of people were living in Great Britain on the verge of hunger[2] and "in the grip of perpetual poverty". The depres-

[1] See the *Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration*, 1904; C. Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London*, 1902-3; B. Seebohm Rowntree, *Poverty; a Study of Town Life*, 1901.

[2] Speech of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman at Perth, in the *Times*, June 6, 1903.

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sion with which these disclosures were received was deepened by the belief, somewhat widely entertained, that the visions of the prophets of progress had proved illusive in other respects. The United Kingdom was still the leading industrial and commercial country of the world. But Great Britain's lead was diminishing; she was no longer so far in advance of her enterprising foreign competitors, who were developing their own industries and challenging her supremacy. To some pessimists the orthodoxy of economics, the orthodoxy of science, and the orthodoxy of faith seemed alike "bankrupt".

Thus in the political as well as the intellectual sphere there was a tendency towards that twofold drift of opinion which has been noticed above in dealing with literature. Many sought national regeneration from the closer union of all parts of the empire, and believed that the British populations beyond the seas would provide the means of pouring fresh vital energy into the veins of the mother-country. The new imperialism was zealously promoted by those who saw in it the hope not merely of political, but also of moral and economic salvation. On the other hand, there were many who remained irresponsive to this call, or at least indifferent to it, feeling that the poverty and distress and the constant sordid conflict, which neither political reforms nor commercial success had eradicated, called for social reconstruction and a stricter control by the community of individual property and individual action. The two tendencies were not mutually exclusive; but those who strove for the reorganisation of the state were less deeply interested in the reorganisation of the empire, and the imperialists could not always find leisure to share the enthusiasms of the social reformers. It is one prime merit of the English party system that it enables ideas which are in the air to find practical expression in association with definite political effort. The imperialists gravitated naturally to the conservatives and unionists, though liberal imperialism was never extinguished; there were conservative social reformers, but labour politics and socialistic sentiment came into touch more readily with advanced liberalism. It was a division to some extent of classes as well as opinions. In the circles of wealth and aristocracy and successful mercantile enterprise imperialism became the fashionable faith, and with its more ardent votaries it was the substitute for some older creeds. The in-

dustrial masses, though sometimes carried away by a wave of patriotism or of national self-assertion, were colder towards this gospel of empire, and showed a growing disposition to interest themselves in the idea of reconstructing society on the basis of a more equal distribution of property and a fuller employment of the power and resources of the state for the benefit of the numerical majority. In all ranks the keener spirits were again looking expectantly towards the future. It was felt that the time was one of transition and growth, and that the problems, set but not solved by the nineteenth century, would meet with a bolder and larger treatment in the age to come.

APPENDIX I.

ON AUTHORITIES.

I. *General Histories.*—No authoritative and critically written history covering the entire reign of Queen Victoria has yet appeared. Sir SPENCER WALPOLE'S valuable *History of England from the Conclusion of the Great War in 1815* (for which see vol. xi.) extends to the close of the Russian war, and the work is continued to 1880 in *The History of Twenty-five Years* (4 vols., 1904-8). HERBERT PAUL'S *History of Modern England* (5 vols., 1904-6) extending from 1845 to 1895 is written with epigrammatic brilliancy and vigour, though in a tone of ardent and sometimes violent partisanship. JUSTIN M'CARTHY'S *History of Our Own Times, 1837-97* (5 vols., 1899), is a "popular" work, somewhat uncritical but animated and interesting. The earlier portion of the Queen's reign is treated with knowledge and discrimination in REINHOLD PAULI'S excellent *Geschichte England's seit den Friedensschlüssen von 1814 and 1815* (2 vols., 1864-75). In the unpretentious form of an advanced school text-book the fourth and fifth volumes of Dr. J. FRANCK BRIGHT'S *History of England* (5 vols., 1875-1904) furnish an adequate and impartial account of the period.

For the constitutional history the standard authority so far as it goes is still Sir T. E. MAY'S *Constitutional History of England* (3 vols., 10th edit., 1891), which is carried down to the year 1871. ALPHEUS TODD'S *Parliamentary Government in England* (2 vols., 2nd edit., 1887-89), and the same writer's *Parliamentary Government in the British Colonies* (1880), are both valuable, especially the latter. The best modern work on the whole subject is A. LAWRENCE LOWELL'S *The Government of England* (2 vols., 1908) written with judgment, impartiality, and comprehensive knowledge. On the legal side the leading authority is Sir W. R. ANSON'S *Law and Custom of the Constitution* (1886-92). See also A. V. DICEY'S *Law of the Constitution* (5th edit., 1897), and the same writer's extremely suggestive and interesting *Lectures on the Relations between Law and Public Opinion in England in the Nineteenth Century* (1905). Much good matter conveniently arranged is contained in FRANQUEVILLE'S *Le Gouvernement et le Parlement Britanniques* (3 vols., 1887). Dr. JOSEF REDLICH'S *Recht und Technik des Englischen Parlamentarismus* (1905) is a storehouse of precise information on the practice and procedure of the house of commons, fuller and more recent than

APP. I. MAY'S *Law, Privileges, Proceedings and Usage of Parliament* (10th edit., 1896). WALTER BAGEHOT'S *The English Constitution* (2nd edit., 1872), and SIDNEY LOW'S *The Governance of England* (1904), attempt to exhibit the "working" as distinguished from the formal constitution.

II. *Original Authorities.*—The materials for English history during the Victorian period are: (*a*) parliamentary and official documents; (*b*) newspapers and periodical publications; (*c*) the speeches of leading politicians; (*d*) journals and autobiographical works.

(*a*) The parliamentary history for this reign is continued in *Hansard's Debates*. The official papers of most importance are: (1) public bills, which are printed when introduced into either house; (2) acts of parliament, published annually under the title of "Public General Statutes"; (3) reports of royal commissions and select committees; (4) accounts and papers laid before parliament and ordered to be printed (catalogues of these papers are issued annually); (5) reports made to public departments such as those of the inspectors of factories and of consuls abroad; (6) reports and statements issued from time to time by the board of trade and other public offices. No general catalogue of all these various papers and "blue books" has yet appeared, but a summary extending over a series of years is issued by the official printers from time to time.

(*b*) For the study of foreign affairs and home politics the newspapers and periodicals are indispensable. The parliamentary debates somewhat more compressed than in *Hansard* are to be found in the *Times*, where also, and in some other London and provincial journals, are given the extra-parliamentary speeches of the leading public men. Much information of the most varied kind and quality is scattered through the reviews and monthly magazines. See W. F. POOLE, *Index to Periodical Literature* (1815-99), abridged edit., and LANGLOIS, *Manuel de Bibliographie Historique* (1901). The *Annual Register* continues to give useful summaries of the home and foreign affairs. The *Quarterly* and *Edinburgh Reviews* must still be consulted, as well as the chief monthly magazines, especially the *Fortnightly Review* (since 1865), the *Contemporary Review* (since 1866), the *Nineteenth Century* (since 1877), the *National Review* (since 1883), and *Blackwood's Magazine*.

(*c*) Collected volumes of speeches. These are less numerous than might be expected. No comprehensive selection from Sir R. Peel's speeches exists. The *Speeches of Sir R. Peel delivered in the House of Commons* (4 vols.) were published in 1853. Another partial collection is *Selections from Speeches of Earl Russell*, 1817 to 1841.

The authoritative edition of the *Speeches and Public Addresses of W. E. Gladstone* was to have been in ten volumes, under the editorship of A. W. Hutton and H. J. Cohen, but only vols. ix. and x. have appeared. GLADSTONE'S *Financial Statements*, notably those of 1853 and 1860-63, have been republished. The *Selected Speeches of Lord Beaconsfield* are carefully and judiciously edited by T. E. Kebbel (2 vols., 1882). J. E. Thorold Rogers's edition of JOHN BRIGHT'S *Speeches on Questions of Public Policy* (2 vols.) goes no further than 1868. Among the various selections from Mr. Chamberlain's speeches may be mentioned the two series on *Home Rule and the Irish Question* from 1881 to 1890.

(*d*) Journals, autobiographies and collections of letters. *The Letters of Queen Victoria, 1837-61*, edited by A. C. Benson and Viscount Esher (3 vols., 1907), appeared too late to be consulted in the preparation of this volume. C. G. F. GREVILLE'S *Journal of the Reign of Queen Victoria* is a continuation extending to 1860 of his *Journal of the Reign of George IV. and William IV.* (see vol. xi.). Henry Reeve's definitive edition, entitled the *Greville Memoirs* (8 vols., 1888), is that quoted in this work. Other books also treating of affairs before and during the Victorian era are Sir R. PEEL'S *Memoirs*, volume ii., all-important for the crisis of 1845-46; Lord BROUGHAM'S *Life and Times*, terribly egotistical and inexact; and Lord JOHN [Earl] RUSSELL'S *Recollections and Suggestions*, 1813-73, valuable, but with many slips of memory. The *Memoirs of Baron Stockmar* (Engl. trans., 2 vols., 1872) contain confidences from the Prince Consort. Lord MALMESBURY'S *Memoirs of an ex-Minister* (2 vols., 1884) are sometimes trivial and gossiping, but they relate much inner history of the Derby and first Disraeli cabinets. The [eighth] DUKE OF ARGYLL'S *Autobiography and Correspondence*, edited by Ina, Duchess of Argyll (2 vols., 1896), is prolix but informative on the Aberdeen and Palmerston administrations. Lord SELBORNE'S *Memorials*, edited by Lady Sophia Palmer, Comtesse de Franqueville (4 vols., 1896-98), throw light on Gladstone's divergence from the liberal unionists. Among works of less importance may be mentioned Sir HENRY TAYLOR'S *Autobiography* (2 vols., 1885), mainly literary and social, and Sir ALGERNON WEST'S *Recollections*, 1832 to 1886, containing amusing personal details. Sir E. HERTSLET'S *Recollections of the Old Foreign Office* (1901) supplies some characteristic stories of Palmerston and other secretaries of state. Lord A. LOFTUS, *Diplomatic Reminiscences* (4 vols., 1892-94), and Sir HORACE RUMBOLD'S rather indiscreet *Recollections of a Diplomatist* (5 vols., 1902-5), illustrate foreign relations. For *The Peel Papers*, edited by C. S. Parker, *The*

APP. I. *Croker Papers*, edited by L. J. Jennings, *The Melbourne Papers*, edited by Lloyd C. Sanders, and *O'Connell's Correspondence*, edited by W. J. Fitzpatrick, see volume xi. of this work. *The Letters of Frederick, Lord Blachford*, edited by C. E. Marindin (1896), explain the *laissez-faire* colonial policy. *Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Henry Reeve*, edited by J. K. Laughton (2 vols., 1898), give peeps behind the political scenes; and *Sir William Arthur White, His Life and Correspondence*, by H S. EDWARDS (1902), is important for the later phases of the eastern question.

III. *Memoirs and Biographies.*—Sir THEODORE MARTIN'S *Life of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort* (5 vols., 1875-80) was written at the request of Queen Victoria and largely from materials supplied by her. Due allowance being made for the conditions under which it was composed, it must be regarded as a first hand authority of great value. SIDNEY LEE'S *Queen Victoria, a Biography* (revised edit., 1904), is a well-balanced and scholarly account of the queen's personal and public life, containing some original information from unpublished sources. *The Life of W. E. Gladstone* (3 vols., 1903), by JOHN MORLEY, is an important and very skilfully handled political biography. It is almost a history of the queen's reign, down to its last decade, written round the figure of Gladstone by one who was closely associated with him during his later years. In all that relates to the home rule bills Lord Morley was not merely a witness of the events described but a leading actor in them. Lord DALLING and EVELYN ASHLEY in the *Life of Viscount Palmerston* (abridged by the latter, 2 vols., 1879) hardly do justice to their subject. DISRAELI'S *Life of Lord George Bentinck* (1852), and JOHN MORLEY'S *Life of Cobden* (2 vols., 1881), are, in their very different ways, masterly presentments of the protagonists of protection and free trade. Sir H. MAXWELL'S *Life of the Duke of Wellington* (2 vols., 1899) has superseded the earlier biographies of the great soldier. Sir S. WALPOLE'S *Life of Lord John Russell* (2 vols., 1889) is a businesslike piece of work. It would be superfluous to praise Sir G. O. TREVELYAN'S *Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay* (2 vols., 1876). W. McC. TORRENS'S *Memoirs of Viscount Melbourne* (2 vols., 1878) is disfigured by much extraneous matter. STUART J. REID'S *Life of Lord Durham* (2 vols., 1906) is of considerable value for the Canadian rebellion and the internal politics of the whig party at the beginning of the period; and towards the end of it Sir WEMYSS REID'S *Life of W. E. Forster* (2 vols., 1888), and Lord E. FITZMAURICE'S *Life of Earl Granville* (2 vols., 1905), become important sources of information. C. S. PARKER'S *Life of Sir James Graham* (1907) is a good

political biography that clears up some disputed points. ANDREW LANG'S *Life of the Earl of Iddesleigh* (2 vols., 1890) is interesting but slight. Among other memoirs may be mentioned Mrs. FAWCETT'S *Life of Sir William Molesworth*, T. PATCHETT MARTIN'S *Life of Lord Sherbrooke*, Lieut.-Col. E. S. C. CHILDERS'S, *Life of Hugh C. E. Childers*, Sir LESLIE STEPHEN'S *Life of Henry Fawcett*, and Sir H. MAXWELL'S *Life and Times of W. H. Smith*. HODDER'S *Life of Lord Shaftesbury* (3 vols., 1886) supplies a careful and adequate account of the statesman-philanthropist. R. BARRY O'BRIEN'S *Life of Charles Stewart Parnell* (3 vols., 1898) is remarkable for its candour. WINSTON CHURCHILL'S *Life of Lord Randolph Churchill* (2 vols., 1906) is a sympathetic study of a brilliant man. Of the great lawyers, Lord LYNDHURST'S *Life* has been written by Sir Theodore Martin too much as a counterblast to the insinuations and inaccuracies in Lord CAMPBELL'S *Lives of the Chancellors*. Lyndhurst is more adequately treated by Mr. J. B. ATLAY in volume i. of *The Victorian Chancellors* (1906), which work also includes an admirable biography of Brougham. Lord CAMPBELL'S *Life* (1881) has been pleasantly put together by his daughter, Mrs. Hardcastle. Other authoritative legal biographies are *The Life of Lord Westbury*, by T. A. NASH, and W. R. W. STEPHENS'S *Memoir of W. Page Wood, Baron Hatherley*. The political side of ecclesiastical biography is especially illustrated in Miss E. J. WHATELY'S *Life of Archbishop Whately* (2 vols., 1866), in A. R. ASHWELL and R. WILBERFORCE'S *Life of Bishop Wilberforce* (3 vols., 1880), in the *Life of Archbishop Tait*, by RANDALL DAVIDSON and Canon BENHAM (2 vols., 1891), *The Life of Archbishop Benson*, by A. C. BENSON (2 vols., 1899), and *Memoirs of Archbishop Temple*, by seven friends, edited by Archdeacon Sandford (2 vols., 1906). APP. I.

Peel, by J. R. THURSFIELD, in the series of *Twelve English Statesmen*, appeared before the publication of the *Peel Papers*, but the book is soundly done. The *Queen's Prime Ministers* series includes Lord STANMORE'S *Life of Lord Aberdeen*, which contains many original documents and is the only adequate biography of that statesman, J. A. FROUDE'S interesting *Lord Beaconsfield*, the DUKE OF ARGYLL'S *Palmerston*, and H. D. TRAILL'S *Lord Salisbury*. S. H. JEYES'S *Mr. Chamberlain, His Life and Public Career* (2 vols., 1903), is a discreet compilation with serviceable excerpts from speeches and documents. Personal impressions are conspicuous in Sir E. W. HAMILTON'S *Mr. Gladstone: a Monograph* (1898), and Lord ROSEBERY'S *Lord Randolph Churchill* (1896). G. BRANDES'S *Lord Beaconsfield* (Engl. trans., 1880), and CUCHEVAL-CLARIGNY'S

APP. I. *Lord Beaconsfield et son Temps* (1880), are interesting studies by cultivated foreign observers of English politics; and there is some useful matter in T. E. KEBBEL'S agreeable *Lord Beaconsfield and other Tory Memories* (1907).

IV. *Ireland and Irish Politics.*—The chief authority on the Irish famine is *The Irish Crisis* by Sir CHARLES TREVELYAN, originally published in the *Edinburgh Review*. W. P. O'BRIEN'S volume, *The Great Famine*, though largely a repetition of Trevelyan's book, contains additional information on the working of the poor law. The Irish agrarian question can be studied in the Report of the Devon Commission, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1845, volume xix.; the Preliminary Report of the Duke of Richmond's Commission, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1881, volume xx.; Report of Lord Bessborough's Commission, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1881, volumes xviii. and xix.; the four Reports of the Select Committee of the House of Lords, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1882, volume xi., and 1883, volume xiii.; and Report of the Royal Commission on the Irish Land Act, 1881, and the Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act, 1885 (Lord Cowper's Commission), *Parliamentary Papers*, 1887, volume xxvi. Among the numerous works concerned with the disestablishment of the Irish Church special value attaches to *The Reformed Church in Ireland*, by the Right Hon. J. T. BALL, and W. E. GLADSTONE'S *A Chapter of Autobiography* (1868). The Young Ireland Movement and its offshoots are interestingly but not impartially treated by Sir CHARLES GAVAN DUFFY in *Young Ireland* (final revision, 1896) with his *The League of North and South*. JOHN MITCHEL'S *Jail Journal* (1868) represents the spirit of the extremists. W. R. TRENCH'S *Realities of Irish Life* (1868) throws light upon the Ribbon agitation; and Fenianism has its outspoken champion in JOHN O'LEARY, *Recollections of Fenians and Fenianism* (2 vols., 1896). The Land League has yet to find its impartial historian. The materials exist in the *Report of the Special [Parnell] Commission, with the Evidence and Speeches taken verbatim before the Judges* (12 vols., 1896). HENRI LE CARON'S *Twenty-Five Years in the Secret Service* (1892) contains revelations of the Irish-American secret societies. MICHAEL DAVITT'S *The Story of the Land League Revolution*, 1904, is written from the extreme separatist standpoint.

V. *The War with Russia.*—The principal materials for a history of the diplomatic and military transactions are to be found in the parliamentary papers for the sessions of 1853, 1854 and 1855 in sixteen parts, commonly styled the *Eastern Papers;* the five *Reports with Minutes of Evidence of the Sebastopol Committee*, 1854-55, and

the *Protocols of the Paris Conference*, 1856. The *Annual Register* for the four years is ably written. Most of the French official despatches were published in the *Moniteur*. These sources should be compared with the *Diplomatic Study of the Crimean War from Russian Official Sources* (Eng. transl., 1880), Captain F. SAYER'S *Despatches and Papers relative to the Campaign in Turkey* (1857) is a useful compendium. For the inner history of the war on the English side, besides the biographies of the Prince Consort, Lord Aberdeen, Lord Palmerston, Lord John Russell, Gladstone, and the Duke of Argyll's *Autobiography*, S. LANE-POOLE'S *Life of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe* (2 vols., 1888) is an important authority. A. W. KINGLAKE'S *Invasion of the Crimea* (8 vols., 1863-87) will in all probability retain its position as the standard general history on its subject, though it ends with the death of Lord Raglan. Kinglake was eye-witness of some of the scenes he describes and Lord Raglan's papers were placed in his hands. Brilliant, Homeric, and episodical, he is too much inclined to make his work a sort of prose epic with the British commander as the hero and Napoleon III. as the evil genius. Of the French histories, PIERRE DE LA GORCE'S chapters in his *Histoire du Second Empire* (1894-1905) with their wealth of quotations from French military memoirs and correspondence have virtually superseded ROUSSET'S elaborate *Histoire de la Guerre de Crimée* (2 vols., 1877), but GEFFKEN'S *Zur Geschichte der Orientalischen Krieges* (1881) is of some permanent value. General TODLEBEN'S *Defence de Sebastopol* (4 vols., 1863) is rather captious for the work of so brave a man. W. H. RUSSELL'S *The British Expedition to the Crimea* (revised edition, 1877) was based mainly on his letters written to the *Times* which profoundly affected public opinion. The most vivid perhaps of the individual impressions recorded are the anonymous *Letters from Headquarters* (2 vols., 1856), known to have been written by the Hon. S. GOUGH CALTHORPE, and Sir EVELYN WOOD'S *The Crimea in 1854 and 1894.* APP. I.

VI. [*Colonies and Dependencies*]—*India.*—No general history of India precisely covers the Victorian era. The sixth and last volume of E. THORNTON'S *History of the British Empire in India* (1845) goes down to the recall of Lord Ellenborough. J. C. MARSHMAN'S *History of India* (vol. iii., 1872), a sound but uninspiring work, ends at 1858. The *Imperial Gazetteers of India*, edited by Sir W. W. Hunter (9 vols., 1881), give excellent accounts of the various provinces and states. Sir JOHN KAYE'S *History of the* [*first*] *War in Afghanistan* (2 vols., 1851) is competent, though the writer's judgments have been refuted at various points by Sir H. DURAND

APP. I. in his *Afghan War* (1879). Further authorities on that misfortune are Lady SALE'S *Narrative* (1846), and C. R. Low's *Life of Field-Marshal Sir G. Pollock.* Lord Colchester edited a justificatory *History of the Indian Administration of Lord Ellenborough,* 1874. The annexation of Sind is described with rapid military eloquence by Sir W. NAPIER in *The Conquest of Scinde* (1845), and *The Life and Opinions of General C. J. Napier* (4 vols., 1857); see also Correspondence relating to Scinde in *Parliamentary Papers,* 1843. J. D. CUNNINGHAM'S *History of the Sikhs* (1849) is the chief authority on the rise of that power; and E. J. THACKWELL'S *Narrative of the Second Sikh War* (1851) is adequate. Lord Dalhousie's critical period of government has attracted numerous writers, including Sir W. W. HUNTER in *The Marquess of Dalhousie* in the *Rulers of India* Series, Sir EDWIN ARNOLD in *The Marquis of Dalhousie's Administration of British India* (2 vols., 1862 and 1865), the DUKE OF ARGYLL in *India under Dalhousie and Canning* (1865), and Sir W. LEE-WARNER'S *Life of Dalhousie* (1904). For the Persian War see G. H. HUNT, *Outram and Havelock's Persian Campaign* (1858), and Sir F. J. GOLDSMID, *James Outram: a Biography* (2 vols., 1880).

For the Indian Mutiny see especially the *Parliamentary Papers relating to India,* 1857-58-59-60, which contain a mass of official documents, private letters, and other valuable material. These are supplemented by the *Administration Reports on the several Presidencies and Provinces of British India,* 1856-60 (Calcutta, 1858-63). G. W. FORREST'S *Selections from the Letters, Despatches, and other State Papers preserved in the Military Department of the Government of India,* 1857-58 (3 vols., Calcutta, 1893-1902), contain much important matter. The leading general history is Sir JOHN KAYE'S *Sepoy War* (3 vols., 1864-76), continued and completed by Colonel G. B. MALLESON (1878-80). The writers compiled their narrative largely from statements made to them by actors and eye-witnesses, and they had access to numerous private papers which are not now in existence. Some of their statements have been modified by later research; but as a full and authoritative account of the events of the period their work is not likely to be superseded. Less voluminous, but more scholarly, judicial, and accurate, is the interesting and carefully written *History of the Indian Mutiny* by T. RICE HOLMES (1883: 5th edit., revised and enlarged, 1898) based on original material, with some of which Kaye and Malleson were unacquainted. Of G. W. FORREST'S *History of the Indian Mutiny, Reviewed and Illustrated from Original Documents,* two volumes have been published (1904), extending to the capture of Lucknow. Almost every

episode of interest during the insurrection has been described and illustrated by the published narratives of survivors, or in the memoirs of Anglo-Indian officers and officials. Among these books are R. Bosworth Smith's *Life of Lord Lawrence* (2 vols., 1883); the *Life of Sir Henry Lawrence*, compiled by H. Merivale in collaboration with Sir Herbert Edwardes (2 vols., 1872), and Edwardes's own *Memorials and Letters*, edited by Lady Edwardes (2 vols., 1886); the first volume of *Forty-One Years in India*, by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts of Kandahar (1896); *The Mutiny of the Bengal Army*, commonly known as *The Red Pamphlet* (1857), published anonymously but written by G. B. Malleson; Lieut.-Gen. J. McLeod Innes's *Lucknow and Oude in the Mutiny* (1895), a first-hand account by one of the defenders of the residency; Mowbray Thomson's *The Story of Cawnpore* (1859), written by one of the only two officers who survived the siege and massacres; J. C. Marshman's *Memoirs of Havelock* (1860); the Rev. G. H. Hodson's *Twelve Years of a Soldier's Life in India* (1859), afterwards re-issued as *Hodson of Hodson's Horse;* Sir George Campbell's *Memoirs of My Indian Career*, edited by Sir C. E. Bernard (1893); L. Shadwell's *Life of Colin Campbell, Lord Clyde* (2 vols., 1881), and L. J. Trotter's *Life of John Nicholson* (1897). APP. I.

After the suppression of the revolt Bosworth Smith's *Lora Lawrence* is a first-rate authority on the administration of that viceroy, and Lord Mayo found a careful and sympathetic biographer in Sir W. W. Hunter (1875). See also in *India Office Records*, Sir J Strachey's Minute of April 30, 1872, on the Earl of Mayo's administration. For the Afghan policy of that viceroy and his successor, Lord Northbrook, see the index to the *Parliamentary Papers*, "Afghanistan". An able *History of Lord Lytton's Indian Administration* (1899) has been compiled by his daughter, Lady Betty Balfour, from private letters and official papers. T. H. Thornton's *Memoir of Sir R. Sandeman*, and, more especially, the second volume of Lord Roberts's *Forty-One Years in India*, throw light on the second Afghan war, and so does *The Life of Amír Abdur Rahmán*, edited by Mir Munshi Sultán Muhammad Khán (2 vols., 1900). Lord Dufferin has been fortunate in his biographer, Sir A. Lyall (2 vols., 1905).

The Colonies.—General treatises on the colonies are not numerous. Sir G. Cornewall Lewis's *An Essay on the Government of Dependencies* (1841; new ed. by C. P. Lucas, 1891) is a liberal text-book on the subject. Professor H. E. Egerton's *A Short History of British Colonial Policy* (1897) is accurate, precise, and judicial in tone. Mr. C. P. Lucas's *Historical Geography of*

APP. I. *the British Colonies*, begun in 1880, embodies an excellent idea, well carried out. The third Earl GREY published in 1853 *The Colonial Policy of Lord John Russell's Administration* (2 vols.), a temperate but not altogether impartial account of his tenure of office. EDWARD GIBBON WAKEFIELD'S *A View of the Art of Colonisation* (1849), emphasising his final opinions on the subject, produced great results, particularly in Australia. Large schemes of colonial policy, some of which have come into effect, can be traced in the *Parliamentary Papers*, 1887, volume lvi.; *Proceedings of the Colonial Conference at London*, 1894, volume lvi.; *Report by the Earl of Jersey on the Colonial Conference at Ottawa;* and *Proceedings of a Conference between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Premiers of the Self-Governing Colonies*, 1897, volume lix. Sir C. W. DILKE'S *Problems of Greater Britain* (4th edit., 1890) is a luminous survey of the British Empire which has inevitably superseded the author's earlier work, *Greater Britain* (1868).

Canada.—For the Canadian rebellion and the state of Canada before the revolt see Lord Durham's report in *Parliamentary Papers*, 1839, volume xvii. The best recent accounts of the whole transaction and of Durham's policy are given in *Self-Government in Canada and how it was Achieved*, by F. BRADSHAW (1903), and STUART REID'S *Life and Letters of the first Earl of Durham* (1906). See also CHARLES BULLER, *Responsible Government for the Colonies* (1840); E. G. WAKEFIELD, *A View of Sir Charles Metcalfe's Government in Canada* (1844); Sir FRANCIS HEAD, *A Narrative* (1839). The eighth volume of W. KINGSFORD'S *The History of Canada* (1898) carries events on to 1841, ending with the death of Lord Sydenham; its views are expressed with downright emphasis. For the Riel rebellion see Viscount WOLSELEY'S *The Story of a Soldier's Life* (2 vols., 1903). Sir SANDFORD FLEMING'S work on the *Canadian Pacific Railway* (1880) is authoritative. For Newfoundland, see HOWLEY'S *The French Treaty Rights* (1890), and D. W. PROWSE, *A History of Newfoundland* (2nd edit., 1896).

The West Indies.—EVES'S *The West Indies* (new edit., 1891) contains some well-arranged information, partly historical. See also GARDNER'S *History of Jamaica* (1873); PHILLIPPS'S *Past and Present State of Jamaica* (1843); and the Report of the Jamaica Commission in *Parliamentary Papers* (1867); besides a voluminous "Governor Eyre" literature, including the report, by W. F. Finlason, of the case of the Queen *v.* E. J. Eyre in the Court of Queen's Bench (1868). FROUDE'S *English in the West Indies* (1888) is brilliant but untrustworthy.

African Colonies and Territories.—The most considerable history of South Africa is G. McCall Theal's *History of South Africa* (5 vols., latest edit., 1904). It ends with the year 1872, and, while written from the Dutch standpoint, is on the whole impartial. J. Martineau's *The Life and Correspondence of Sir Bartle Frere* (2 vols., 1895) is an all-important source of information, though it requires checking from the various blue-books published in the *Parliamentary Papers*, and supplementing from works like P. A. Molteno's *Life and Times of Sir J. C. Molteno* (2 vols., 1900). The story of the first Boer war has been told in straightforward style by T. Fortescue-Carter (2nd edit., 1896), and by Sir W. F. Butler in his affecting *Life of Sir G. Pomeroy Colley* (1899). The history of the Jameson raid is best studied in the Reports and Evidence of the South African Committee in *Parliamentary Papers*, 1897; F. E. Garrett's and E. J. Edwards's *The Story of a South African Crisis* (1897) displays a good deal of inside knowledge. Upon the second Boer war, the most authoritative work when completed will be the official War Office *History of the War in South Africa, 1899-1902, Compiled by Direction of His Majesty's Government*, of which two volumes have been published in 1906 and 1907. The campaign is also described in great detail in *The* Times *History of the War in South Africa* (vols. i.-iv., 1900-1906), edited by L. C. Amery; with which may usefully be compared *Aus dem Südafrikanischen Kriege, 1899 bis 1902*, translated into English under the title *The War in South Africa: Prepared by the Historical Section of the Great General Staff, Berlin* (vol. i., 1904; vol. ii., 1906). This German history, though fairly impartial, gives prominence to the Boer point of view. Another good foreign account is *La Guerre Sud-Africaine*, in the French *Eta Major* Series (1902). Sir A. Conan Doyle's *The Great Boer War* (1902) is a convenient popular narrative. Numerous books were published during the campaign or immediately after its close by military officers, newspaper correspondents, and others, most of them hasty productions of small historical value. The chief authority on the Matabele war is *The Downfall of Lobengula* (1894), by W. A. Wells and L. T. Collingridge. Works relating to other parts of Africa deal less with history than exploration, a subject comprehensively treated by Dr. R. Brown in *The Story of Africa* (4 vols., 1892-95). The Gold Coast has its conscientious historian in Colonel A. B. Ellis (1893). For Uganda see Sir Frederick Lugard's *The Rise of our East African Empire* (2 vols., 1893), and Sir Gerald Portal's *The British Mission to Uganda* (1894). Of the numerous "little wars," the Ashanti campaign of 1874 has been

APP. I. chronicled by Lord WOLSELEY (in *The Story of a Soldier's Life*). Reference may be made to books mainly devoted to African travel, such as Sir SAMUEL BAKER'S *Ismailia* and Sir H. M. STANLEY'S *How I Found Livingstone*, and *In Darkest Africa*, which, though not strictly belonging to political history, have indirectly contributed to the making of it.

Australia and New Zealand.—The best general history of Australia is G. W. RUSDEN'S *History of Australia* (3 vols., 1883), somewhat involved but full of useful documents. The volume on *Australasia*, in LUCAS'S *Historical Geography of the British Colonies*, written by J. D. ROGERS, is both learned and brilliant. An important book, written by one who played a part in events, is *Fifty Years in the Making of Australian History* (2 vols., 1892), by Sir HENRY PARKES, formerly premier of New South Wales. The penetration of the continent has been described by E. FAVENC in *Australian Exploration* (1888), and by R. THINNE (1894) in a book bearing the same title. New South Wales has its official historian in Mr. G. B. BARTON, whose *History of New South Wales from the Records* (1889, etc.) will inevitably supersede previous works on the subject. H. G. TURNER'S *History of Victoria* (2 vols., 1904) is readable, and carries the narrative down to the absorption of the colony in the commonwealth; and for the early days of the colony SHILLINGLOW'S *Historical Records of Port Phillip* (1879) should be consulted. The government handbooks of South Australia contain much general information, and GILL'S *Bibliography of South Australia* (1888) is useful. The history of Australian federation remains to be written. Official reports have been published of the various conventions, such as that held in Sydney in 1891. G. W. RUSDEN'S *History of New Zealand* (3 vols., 1883) is written with a strong pro-native bias. Incidental information can be gathered from the Lives of Sir George Grey by REES and MILNE, and TUCKER'S *Life of Bishop Selwyn* (1879). Sir G. F. BOWEN'S *Thirty Years of Colonial Government*, edited by S. Lane-Poole (1889), contains some agreeable reminiscences of New Zealand, and of Queensland and Victoria.

VII. *Foreign Affairs.*—The end of Palmerston's first foreign secretaryship (1837-41). For the Syrian crisis, see the *Parliamentary Papers*, 1839, volume xxix., and 1841, volume xxix. Besides DALLING and ASHLEY'S *Palmerston*, GUIZOT'S *Mémoires*, vol. iv. (1858-67), and LOUIS BLANC'S *L'Histoire de Dix Ans*, vol. v. (1844), both bitterly hostile to Palmerston, may be consulted.

Aberdeen's foreign secretaryship (1841-46). The disputes with the United States are dealt with in the *British and Foreign State*

Papers (catalogued in the British Museum Library under "England —Foreign Office"), volumes xviii., xxii., xxiii., xxix. and xxx., in the last of which the text of the Ashburton treaty is given; for the Oregon boundary affair see *State Papers*, vol. xxxiv.

Palmerston's second foreign secretaryship (1846-52). For the Spanish marriages, a question which first assumed prominence when Aberdeen was at the foreign office, see *State Papers*, vol. xxx., *Parliamentary Papers*, 1847, volume 59; TASCHEREAU'S *Revue Rétrospective* (1848), containing the secret correspondence between Louis Philippe and Guizot, vol. viii. For Cracow, see *Parliamentary Papers*, 1847, volume lxxi.; for Portugal, *Parliamentary Papers relating to Portugal*, 1847, lxviii.; and *Le Maréchal Duc de Saldanha* (1869); for the Swiss Sonderbund, *Parliamentary Papers relative to the Affairs of Switzerland*, 1847-48, volumes lxv. and lxx., and hostile criticism in Guizot (vol. viii.) and METTERNICH, *Mémoires*, tome vii. This authoritative work is also generally valuable, especially for the *Recueil de Documents* (1835-48), in volume vii. Palmerston's Italian policy is to be studied in the *Parliamentary Papers relating to Italy*, 1847-48, volume lxv., and 1849, lvii. and lviii. LAMARTINE'S *Histoire de la Révolution de 1848* (1851-52) gives the best general account of that event, while with the *Coup d'État* DE LA GORCE'S *Histoire du Second Empire* begins.

The first Derby and Aberdeen ministries (1852-55). See authorities on the war with Russia.

Palmerston's first ministry, 1855-58. The despatches relating to the Conspiracy to Murder Bill are to be found in *Parliamentary Papers*, 1857-58, volume lx. The China despatches are included in *Parliamentary Papers, the Affairs of China*, 1857-58, volume lx., 1860, lxvi., and 1861, lxvi. See also the *Letters and Journals of James, Eighth Earl of Elgin*, edited by Theodore Walrond (1872); WRONG, *Life of Lord Elgin* (1905); LAWRENCE OLIPHANT, *Narrative of Lord Elgin's Mission* (2 vols., 1859); F. V. DICKINS and S. LANE-POOLE, *The Life of Sir Harry Parkes* (2 vols., 1894), and Sir HENRY TAYLOR'S *Autobiography*, volume i.

The second Derby, second Palmerston, and second Russell ministries, 1858-66. Lord MALMESBURY'S *Memoirs of an ex-Minister* are instructive on British policy on the eve of the war of Italian liberation. In addition to M. de la Gorce, THOUVENEL'S *Le Sécret de l'Empereur* (2 vols., 1889) subjects the motives of Napoleon III. to searching examination. The *Lettere di Cavour* (vol. iii.) is incidentally useful. The *Parliamentary Papers* are in fifteen sets. They begin with the *Correspondence with Sardinia respecting the State*

APP. I. *of Affairs in Italy*, 1856, volume lxi., and end with *Correspondence respecting Southern Italy, January to March, 1862* (1862), volume lxiii. The state of Europe between the war of Italian liberation and the Danish war is illustrated in HEINRICH VON SYBEL'S *Founding of the German Empire*, volume ii. (Engl. trans., New York, 1890), BISMARCK, *Reflections and Reminiscences*, volume i., and General DELLA MARMORA, *Un Poco Piu di Luce*. Count VITZTHUM'S *St. Petersburg and London*, volume ii. (2 vols., 1887), contains the reflections of a penetrating and detached observer. For the Schleswig-Holstein question see *Parliamentary Papers*, 1852-53, cii.; and *Correspondence respecting the Affairs of Denmark*, 1850-53 (1864), volume lxv. The whole subject was luminously surveyed by Lord SALISBURY in the *Quarterly Review*, volume civ.; the article is reprinted in his *Essays* (2 vols., 1905). Of the voluminous *Parliamentary Papers relating to America during the Civil War in the United States* the most important are those on the seizure of the *Trent*, 1862, lxii.; *Correspondence between the American Ambassador and Earl Russell respecting the* Alabama, lxii., and *Correspondence with Mr. Adams respecting Neutral Rights and Duties*. The Mexican embroilment is dealt with in the *Parliamentary Papers*, 1862, volume lxiv. Earl RUSSELL'S *Selections from his Despatches*, 1859 to 1865, appeared as a second volume to his speeches.

The Derby-Disraeli ministry (1866-68). The essential papers relating to Abyssinia are in the *Parliamentary Papers*, 1865, lvii.; 1866, lxxv.; 1867, lxxiii., and 1868-69, lxiii. For the Luxemburg question see *Parliamentary Papers*, 1867, lxxiv., and ROTHAN'S careful study, *L'Affaire de Luxembourg* in his *Souvenirs Diplomatiques* (1882).

The first Gladstone administration (1868-74). The diplomatic correspondence bearing on the Franco-German war and the *Treaties Relative to the Independence of Belgium* are in *Parliamentary Papers*, 1870, lxix. *The Correspondence respecting the* Alabama *Claims* (1869-70) is in the *Parliamentary Papers* (1870), volume lxix. The correspondence with Russia respecting Central Asia is to be found in *Parliamentary Papers*, 1873, volume lxxv., and 1874, volume lxxvi.

The Beaconsfield ministry (1874-80). For the correspondence on the purchase of the Suez Canal shares see *Parliamentary Papers*, 1876, volume lxxxiii. The eastern question is indexed under *Affairs of Turkey* in the *Parliamentary Papers*, beginning with those in Bosnia and the Herzegovina, 1876, volume lxxxiv. The important volume lxxxiii., 1878, contains the San Stefano treaty, the protocols of the congress and the treaty of Berlin. The Cyprus convention is in 1878, volume lxxxii. MACGAHAN'S sensational articles in the

Daily News were republished in *The War Correspondence of the "Daily News"* (1878). The DUKE OF ARGYLL'S *The Eastern Question* (2 vols., 1879) is polemical but well supported by documents.

Gladstone's second ministry (1880-85) and first Salisbury ministry (1885-86). The Greek frontier dispute produced much diplomatic correspondence. The collective note of the powers is in *Parliamentary Papers*, 1880, volume lxxxii., and the convention in 1881, volume xcviii. British intervention in Egypt and its consequences are ably described by Lord CROMER in *Modern Egypt* (1908), and by Lord MILNER in *England in Egypt* (11th edition summarising events to 1904), and Sir AUCKLAND COLVIN in *The Making of Modern Egypt* (1906). See also the Egyptian chapters in Sir A. LYALL'S *Life of Lord Dufferin*. Gordon's mission is illustrated by *The Journals of Major-General C. G. Gordon at Khartoum* and General Sir F. R. WINGATE'S important *Mahdiism and the Eastern Soudan* (1891). Sir RUDOLF VON SLATIN'S *Fire and Sword in the Soudan* (1896) and Father OHRWALDER'S *Ten Years' Captivity in the Mahdi's Camp* (1903) should also be consulted; and *Parliamentary Papers*, 1884, volumes lxxxviii. and lxxxix. The Penjdeh dispute is covered so far as Russia was concerned by *Correspondence respecting Affairs of Central Asia*, 1884-85, volume lxxxvii.

Gladstone's third ministry (1886). *The Correspondence respecting the Port of Batoum*, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1886, volume lxxiii., deals with the Russian evasion of the treaty of Berlin in the matter of that port. For the "pacific blockade" of Greece see 1886, volume lxxiv.

The second Salisbury ministry (1886-92). Three sets of *Parliamentary Papers* cover the complications that arose out of the union of Eastern Roumelia with Bulgaria, 1886, volume lxxv., 1887, volume xci., and 1888, volume cix. The exhaustive reports of Lord Cromer on the finances and condition of Egypt began in 1888. In Africa our disputes were the subject of a voluminous correspondence which outlasted the second Salisbury administration. It concluded with the agreement of June 5, 1893, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1893-94, volume cix. The important correspondence respecting the Anglo-German Agreement relative to Africa and Heligoland is in 1890, volume li. The division of Africa between the powers is the subject of J. SCOTT KELTIE'S well-informed work, *The Partition of Africa* (2nd edit., 1895). The Seal Fisheries disputes with the United States begins in *Parliamentary Papers*, 1886-90, 1890, volume lxxxii., and ends, after the Gladstone-Rosebery ministry had come and gone, in the *Award of the Behring Sea Tribunal of Arbitration*, 1893-94.

The Gladstone-Rosebery ministry (1892-95). Foreign affairs were not especially prominent during this period, but the Asiatic

APP. I. provinces of Turkey began to attract a melancholy attention. See *Parliamentary Papers*, 1892, volume xcvi.

The third Salisbury ministry (1895-1902). For the foreign policy of this administration, H. WHATES's conscientious volume, *The Third Salisbury Administration*, can be consulted with advantage. It brings events down to Lord Roberts's proclamation of September 13, 1900, after the flight of President Krüger, and includes in appendices the materially important diplomatic papers.

VIII. *Religious Development and Ecclesiastical Affairs.* — No adequate history of religious development in the Victorian era exists. For the Church see chapter xx. in H. O. WAKEMAN'S *An Introduction to the History of the Church of England* (6th edit., 1899). Valuable materials and useful references are to be found in the Report of the Ritual Commission, *Parliamentary Papers* (1906). The Oxford Movement can be studied in Dean CHURCH'S luminous retrospect, *The Oxford Movement, Twelve Years, 1833-45* (1891), and its spirit is exemplified in the *Remains of Richard Hurrell Froude* (2 pts., 1838-39), and in *Tracts for the Times* (1833-40). W. G. WARD'S *Ideal of a Christian Church* (1844) was important from its disruptive effect; while twenty years later came NEWMAN'S famous *Apologia pro Vitâ Suâ*, a reply to CHARLES KINGSLEY'S pamphlet, *What, then, does Dr. Newman Mean?* For further light on the Oxford Movement, there is a copious biographical literature, including Sir J. T. COLERIDGE'S *A Memoir of John Keble* (1869), T. MOZLEY'S *Reminiscences* (2 vols., 1882), and Dr. LIDDON'S *Life of Dr. Pusey* (4 vols., 1893-97). Among the biographies of representative divines, in addition to those of the archbishops and bishops already mentioned, are STEPHENS'S *Life and Letters of Dean Hook* (1878); GOULBURN'S *Life of Dean Burgon* (2 vols., 1892); J. O. JOHNSTON'S *Life and Letters of Henry Parry Liddon* (1904), and the *Life and Letters of Dean Church* (1904). The Broad Church movement finds expression in A. P. STANLEY'S *Life of Thomas Arnold* (2 vols., 1844); STOPFORD BROOKE'S *Life and Letters of F. W. Robertson* (1865), and R. E. PROTHERO'S *Life of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley* (2 vols., 1893). The progress of Roman catholicism can be traced in G. WHITE'S *Memoir of Cardinal Wiseman* (1865); PURCELL'S captious *Life of Cardinal Manning* (2 vols., 1895); H. PAUL'S memoir prefixed to *Letters of Lord Acton to Mary Gladstone* (1904), and PERCY FITZGERALD'S *Fifty Years of Catholic Life* (2 vols., 1901). The disruption of the Church of Scotland is illustrated by HANNA'S *Memories of Chalmers* (4 vols., 1849-52); J. MACFARLANE'S *The Late Secession* (1846), and BUCHANAN'S *The Ten Years' Conflict* (1850). The history of modern nonconformity has yet to be written,

but materials for it exist in the biographies of representative men, like *The Life and Letters of John Angell James*, edited by R. W. Dale (1861); Dr. J. Stoughton's *Recollections of a Long Life* (2nd edit., 1894); C. H. Spurgeon's *Autobiography* (4 vols., 1897-1900); and Dale's *Life of R. W. Dale* (1898); and for Unitarianism, see Drummond and Ripton's *Life and Letters of James Martineau* (1902).

IX. *Industrial, Social and Economic History.*—No general work on these subjects covers the whole of the Victorian era. The sixth volume of *Social England*, edited by H. D. Traill, begins at 1815 and extends to the general election of 1885; a collection of essays by sundry hands and of diverse merit. The same remark applies to *The Reign of Queen Victoria*, edited by T. Humphry Ward and published in 1887. *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, by Dr. W. Cunningham, an authoritative work, ends with the repeal of the corn laws; Porter's *Progress of the Nation* appeared in 1851; McCulloch's excellent *Dictionary of Commerce and Commercial Navigation* was published between 1860 and 1872; and R. H. Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy* in 1894-99.

The Bank Charter Act produced a voluminous literature. It was hotly attacked by Tooke in his *History of Prices* (pp. 144-402), and surveyed in a spirit of cold hostility by J. S. Mill in *Principles of Political Economy*, book iii., chapter xxiv. Chartism has its somewhat commonplace historian in R. G. Gammage, *History of the Chartist Movement* (1894), but the meaning of the movement can be more clearly discerned in Carlyle's *Chartism*, and Thomas Cooper's *Life, Written by Himself* (1872). For the Anti-Corn Law League, besides Morley's *Life of Cobden*, consult A. Prentice's *History of the Anti-Corn Law League* and Ashworth's *Recollections of Richard Cobden and the Anti-Corn Law League*. The later movement among the agricultural labourers can be studied in the *Life of Joseph Arch* (1898); and the propaganda of republicanism and "free-thought" through the industrial centres in *Charles Bradlaugh*, by Hypatia Bradlaugh Bonner and John M. Robertson (1894). Of similar interest is J. G. Holyoake's *Sixty Years of an Agitator's Life* (1892).

Factory legislation has its historians in Samuel Kydd, *History of the Factory Movement* (1857), and in Ernst von Plener, *Die Englische Fabrikgesetzgebung* (Engl. trans., 1873). A new edition of this valuable work is badly wanted. The most complete survey of the poor law is *A History of the English Poor Law*, by T. Mackay (1904), nominally a supplementary volume to Sir George Nicholls's *History*, virtually an independent treatment of the subject

APP. I. from 1834 to 1898. The growth of trade unionism has been traced by SIDNEY and BEATRICE WEBB, with accuracy of fact if with excessive optimism of spirit, in their *History of Trade Unions* (1894), and in a more elaborate work, *Industrial Democracy* (1897), based on careful sociological and statistical inquiry. HOLYOAKE'S *History of Co-operation*, FROME WILKINSON'S *Friendly Societies*, and Sir E. W. BRABROOK'S *Provident Societies and Industrial Welfare* deal with more limited aspects of working-class progress. The reverse side of the picture is shown by Sir E. F. DU CANE in *The Punishment and Prevention of Crime* (1885).

When the historian of manners comes to survey the Victorian era he will have numerous memoirs and biographies to draw upon, and he will be wise not to neglect novelists like THACKERAY, TROLLOPE, CHARLOTTE YONGE, GEORGE ELIOT, DICKENS, SURTEES, WALTER BESANT, GEORGE GISSING and many others; as well as the compilers of gossiping volumes of reminiscences and recollections such as Sir M. E. GRANT-DUFF and G. W. E. RUSSELL. In *London Labour and the London Poor* (1851), HENRY MAYHEW left a vivid description of the customs and humours of the streets, though his statistics were largely based on guesswork. The same subject was handled by CHARLES BOOTH with a far greater measure of scientific exactitude in the seventeen volumes of the *Life and Labour of the People in London* (1902-3). The Report and Evidence of the Labour Commission in *Parliamentary Papers* (1894) embodied the results of three years' inquiries into the relations between employers and employed; and there is a mass of material illustrating the industrial condition of the nation in the final Report of the Royal Commission to inquire into the Depression of Trade, published in 1886 (*Parliamentary Papers*, 1886, vols. xxi.-xxiii.).

APPENDIX II.

THE CABINETS OF THE REIGN

APPEN

THE CABINETS

The abbreviation *d.* means died; *r.*, resigned; *t.*, transferred to another
the office was not

		THE SECOND MELBOURNE CABINET (April, 1835, to Aug., 1841); on June 30, 1837.
APP. II.	*Prime Minister and First Ld. Treas.*	Visct. Melbourne.
	Ld. Chancellor	Ld. Cottenham.
	Ld. President of Council . . .	M. of Lansdowne.
	Ld. Privy Seal	Visct. Duncannon, *r.* Jan., 1840; E. of Clarendon.
	Home Secretary	Ld. John Russell, *t.* Sept., 1839; M. of Normanby.
	Foreign Secretary	Visct. Palmerston.
	Secretary for War and Colonies .	Ld. Glenelg, *r.* Feb., 1839; M. of Normanby, *t.* Sept., 1839; Ld. J. Russell.
	First Lord of Admiralty . . .	E. of Minto.
	Chancellor of Exchequer . . .	T. Spring Rice, *t.* Aug., 1839; Sir F. T. Baring.
	President of Board of Control . .	Sir J. C. Hobhouse
	President of Board of Trade . .	C. Poulett Thomson, *t.* Aug., 1839, H. Labouchere.
	Chancellor of Duchy of Lancaster .	Ld. Holland, *d.* Oct., 1840; E. of Clarendon, *t.* Jan., 1841; Sir G. Grey.
	First Commr. of Woods and Forests .	Visct. Duncannon.
	Secretary at War	Visct. Howick (afterwards E. Grey), *r.* Sept., 1839; T. B. Macaulay.
	Irish Secretary	[ ]; Visct. Morpeth, Feb., 1839.
	Postmaster-General	[ ].
	Paymaster-General	[ ].
	Without office	

DIX II.

OF THE REIGN

appointment; square brackets, [ ], imply that the holder of
of Cabinet rank.

THE SECOND PEEL CABINET (Sept., 1841, to July, 1846).

Sir R. Peel.
Ld. Lyndhurst.

Ld. Wharncliffe, *d.* Dec., 1845; D. of Buccleuch appd. Jan., 1846.
D. of Buckingham, *r.* Jan., 1842; D. of Buccleuch, *t.* Jan., 1846; E. of Haddington.
Sir Jas. Graham.

E. of Aberdeen.

Ld. Stanley (afterwards E. of Derby), *r.* Dec., 1845; W. E. Gladstone.
E. of Haddington, *t.* Jan., 1846; E. of Ellenborough.
H. Goulburn.

E. of Ellenborough, *t.* Oct., 1841; Ld. Fitzgerald, *d.* May, 1843; E. of Ripon.

E. of Ripon, *t.* May, 1843; W. E. Gladstone, *r.* Feb., 1845.
[ ]; Ld. Granville Somerset, May, 1844.
[ ]; E. of Lincoln (afterwards D. of Newcastle), Feb., 1845, *r.* Feb., 1846; [ ].
Sir H. Hardinge, *t.* May, 1844; [ ]; Sidney Herbert, May, 1845.
[ ]; E. of Lincoln, Feb., 1846.
[ ].
Sir E. Knatchbull, *r.* Feb., 1845; [ ].

D. of Wellington.

THE FIRST RUSSELL CABINET (July, 1846, to Feb., 1852).

Ld. J. Russell.
Ld. Cottenham, *r.* June, 1850; in Commission; Ld. Truro, July, 1850.
M. of Lansdowne.

E. of Minto.

Sir G. Grey.

Visct. Palmerston, *r.* Dec., 1851; E. Granville.
E. Grey.

E. of Auckland, *d.* Jan., 1849; F. T. Baring.
Sir C. Wood (afterwards Visct. Halifax).
Sir J. C. Hobhouse (Ld. Broughton), *r.* Jan., 1852; Fox Maule (Ld. Panmure).
E. of Clarendon, *t.* May, 1847; H. Labouchere.
Ld. Campbell, *t.* 1850; E. of Carlisle.

Visct. Morpeth (E. of Carlisle), *t.* March, 1850; [ ]; Ld. Seymour (D. of Somerset), Oct., 1851.
[ ]; Fox Maule, October, 1851, *t.* Jan., 1852; [ ].
H. Labouchere, *t.* July, 1847; [ ].
M. of Clanricarde.
T. B. Macaulay, *r.* Aug., 1847; [ ].
E. Granville, Oct., 1851, *t.* Dec., 1851; [ ].

APP. II.

THE FIRST DERBY CABINET (Feb., 1852, to Dec., 1852).

Prime Minister and First Ld. Treas.	E. of Derby.
Ld. Chancellor	Ld. St. Leonards.
Ld. President of Council . .	E. of Lonsdale.
Ld. Privy Seal	M. of Salisbury.
Home Secretary	Spencer H. Walpole.
Foreign Secretary	E. of Malmesbury.
Sec. for War and Cols.; offices divided, June, 1854. *Sec. for War*	Sir John Pakington.
Sec. for Cols., June, 1854 . . .	Sir John Pakington.
First Lord of Admiralty . . .	D. of Northumberland.
Chancellor of Exchequer . . .	B. Disraeli.
President of Board of Control . .	J. C. Herries.
President of Board of Trade . .	J. W. Henley.
Chancellor of Duchy of Lancaster .	[ ].
First Commr. of Public Works .	Ld. John Manners.
Secretary at War; office abol., 1855	[ ].
Irish Secretary	[ ].
Postmaster-General	E. of Hardwicke.
Without office	

THE SECOND DERBY CABINET (Feb., 1858, to June, 1859).

Prime Minister and First Ld. Treas.	E. of Derby.
Ld. Chancellor	Ld. Chelmsford.
Ld. President of Council . . .	M. of Salisbury.
Ld. Privy Seal	E. of Hardwicke.
Home Secretary	Spencer H. Walpole, *v.* Feb., 1859; T. H. Sotheran-Estcourt.
Foreign Secretary	E. of Malmesbury.
Colonial Secretary	Ld. Stanley, *t.* May, 1858; Sir E. Bulwer-Lytton.
Secretary for War	Gen. Peel.

THE ABERDEEN CABINET (Dec., 1852, to Jan., 1855).

E. of Aberdeen.
Ld. Cranworth.
E. Granville, *t.* June, 1854; Ld. J. Russell, *r.* Jan., 1855.
D. of Argyll.

Visct. Palmerston.
Ld. J. Russell, *r.* Feb., 1853; without office until June, 1854; E. of Clarendon, Feb., 1853.

D. of Newcastle, as Sec. for War.

D. of Newcastle; Sir G. Grey, June, 1854.

Sir Jas. Graham.

W. E. Gladstone.

Sir C. Wood.

[ ].
[ ]; E. Granville, June, 1854.

Sir W. Molesworth.
Sidney Herbert.
[ ].
[ ].

M. of Lansdowne.

THE FIRST PALMERSTON CABINET (Feb., 1855, to Feb., 1858).

Visct. Palmerston.
Ld. Cranworth.
E. Granville.

D. of Argyll, *t.* Nov., 1855; E. of Harrowby, *r.* Dec., 1857; M. of Clanricarde.
Sir G. Grey.
E. of Clarendon.

Ld. Panmure (Fox Maule).

S. Herbert, *r.* Feb., 1855; Ld. J. Russell, *r.* July, 1855; Sir W. Molesworth, *d.* Oct., 1855; H. Labouchere.
Sir Jas. Graham, *r.* Feb., 1855; Sir C. Wood.
W. E. Gladstone, *r.* Feb., 1855; Sir G. Cornewall Lewis.
Sir C. Wood, *t.* Feb., 1855; R. V. Smith.
[ ]; Ld. Stanley of Alderley.
E. of Harrowby, March, 1855, *t.* Dec., 1857; M. T. Baines.
Sir W. Molesworth, *t.* July, 1855; [ ].

[ ].
Visct. Canning, *t.* July, 1855; D. of Argyll, appd. Nov., 1855.
M. of Lansdowne.

THE SECOND PALMERSTON AND SECOND RUSSELL CABINETS (June, 1859, to June, 1866).

Visct. Palmerston, *d.* Oct., 1865; E. Russell.
Ld. Campbell, *d.* June, 1861; Ld. Westbury, *r.* July, 1865; Ld. Cranworth.
E. Granville.

D. of Argyll.
Sir G. Cornewall Lewis, *t.* July, 1861; Sir G. Grey.

Ld. John Russell (became E. Russell, July, 1861); E. of Clarendon, Oct., 1865.
D. of Newcastle, *r.* April, 1861; Ed. Cardwell.
Sidney Herbert (became Ld. Herbert of Lea), *r.* July, 1861; Sir G. Cornewall Lewis, *d.* April, 1863; E. de Grey, *t.* Feb., 1866; M. of Hartington.

THE THIRD DERBY AND FIRST DISRAELI CABINETS (June, 1866, to Dec., 1868).

E. of Derby, *r.* Feb., 1868; B. Disraeli.
Ld. Chelmsford.

D. of Buckingham, *t.* March, 1867; D. of Marlborough.
E. of Malmesbury.
Spencer H. Walpole, *r.* May, 1867, continued without office; Gathorne Hardy.
Ld. Stanley.

E. of Carnarvon, *r.* March, 1867; D. of Buckingham.
Gen. Peel, *r.* March, 1867; Sir J. Pakington.

APP. II.

THE SECOND DERBY CABINET (Feb., 1858, to June, 1859)—(*continued*).

First Lord of Admiralty . . .	Sir J. Pakington.
Chancellor of Exchequer . . .	B. Disraeli.
President of Board of Control, becomes Sec. for India, Aug., 1858 .	E. of Ellenborough, *r.* May, 1858: Ld. Stanley.
President of Board of Trade . .	J. W. Henley, *r.* Feb., 1859; E. of Donoughmore.
Chancellor of Duchy of Lancaster .	[ ].
First Commr. of Public Works . .	Ld. John Manners.
President of Poor Law Board . .	[ ].
Irish Secretary	[ ].
Postmaster-General	[ ].

THE FIRST GLADSTONE CABINET (Dec., 1868, to Feb., 1874).

Prime Minister and First Ld. Treas.	W. E. Gladstone.
Ld. Chancellor	Ld. Hatherley, *r.* Oct., 1872; Ld. Selborne.
Ld. President of Council . . .	E. de Grey (created M. of Ripon), *r.* June, 1871; Lord Aberdare.
Ld. Privy Seal	E. of Kimberley, *t.* July, 1870; Visct. Halifax (Sir C. Wood).
Home Secretary	H. A. Bruce (afterwards Ld. Aberdare), *t.* Aug., 1873; R. Lowe.
Foreign Secretary	E. of Clarendon, *d.* June, 1870; E. Granville.
Colonial Secretary	E. Granville, *t.* July, 1870; E. of Kimberley.
Secretary for War	E. Cardwell.
First Lord of Admiralty . . .	H. C. E. Childers, *r.* March, 1871; G. J. Goschen.
Secretary for India	D. of Argyll.
Chancellor of Exchequer . . .	R. Lowe, *t.* Aug., 1873; W. E. Gladstone.
President of Board of Trade . .	J. Bright, *r.* Dec., 1870; Chichester Fortescue.
President of Poor Law Board becomes President of Local Government Board, Aug., 1871	G. J. Goschen, *t.* March, 1871; J. Stansfeld.
Chancellor of Duchy of Lancaster .	[ ]; H. C. E. Childers, Aug., 1872; *r.* Sept., 1873; J. Bright.

THE SECOND PALMERSTON AND SECOND RUSSELL CABINETS (June, 1859, to June, 1866)—(*continued*).

D. of Somerset.

W. E. Gladstone.

Sir C. Wood, *r.* Feb., 1866; E. de Grey.
T. Milner Gibson, July, 1859.

Sir G. Grey, *t.* July, 1861; E. Cardwell, *t.* April, 1864; E. of Clarendon, *t.* Oct., 1865; G. J. Goschen, Jan., 1866.
[ ].
T. Milner-Gibson, *t.* July, 1859; C. P. Villiers.
E. Cardwell, *t.* July, 1861; [ ].

E. of Elgin, *r.* March, 1860; Ld. Stanley of Alderley.

THE SECOND DISRAELI OR BEACONSFIELD CABINET (Feb., 1874, to April, 1880).

B. Disraeli, created E. of Beaconsfield, Aug., 1876.
Ld. (afterwards E.) Cairns.

D. of Richmond.

E. of Malmesbury, *r.* Aug., 1876; E. of Beaconsfield, *r.* Feb., 1878; D. of Northumberland.
R. A. Cross.

E. of Derby, *r.* March, 1878; M. of Salisbury.
E. of Carnarvon, *r.* Jan., 1878; Sir M. Hicks Beach.
Gathorne Hardy, *t.* April, 1878; Col. Stanley.
G. W. Hunt, *d.* July, 1877; W. H. Smith.
M. of Salisbury, *t.* April, 1878; Gathorne Hardy.
Sir S. Northcote.

[ ]; Visct. Sandon, April, 1878.

[ ].

[ ].

THE THIRD DERBY AND FIRST DISRAELI CABINETS (June, 1866, to Dec., 1868)—(*continued*).

Sir J. Pakington, *t.* March, 1867; H. Lowry-Corry. APP. II.
B. Disraeli, became First Ld. of the Treasury, Feb., 1868; G. Ward Hunt.

Visct. Cranborne, *r.* March, 1867; Sir S. Northcote.
Sir S. Northcote, *t.* March, 1867; the D. of Richmond.
[ ].

Ld. John Manners.
Gathorne Hardy, *t.* May, 1867; [ ].

Ld. Naas (became E. of Mayo), Aug., 1867; *t.* Oct., 1868; [ ].
[ ].

THE SECOND GLADSTONE CABINET (April, 1880, to July, 1885).

W. E. Gladstone.

Ld. (afterwards E.) Selborne.

E. Spencer, *r.* April, 1883; L. Carlingford.
D. of Argyll, *r.* April, 1881; Ld. Carlingford, *r.* March, 1885; E. of Rosebery.
Sir W. Vernon Harcourt.

E. Granville.

E. of Kimberley, *t.* Dec., 1882; E. of Derby.
H. C. E. Childers, *t.* Dec., 1882; M. of Hartington.
E. of Northbrook.

M. of Hartington, *t.* Dec., 1882; E. of Kimberley.
W. E. Gladstone, *r.* Dec., 1882; H. C. E. Childers.
J. Chamberlain.

J. G. Dodson, *t.* Dec., 1882; Sir C. W. Dilke.
J. Bright, *r.* July, 1882; E. of Kimberley, *t.* Dec., 1882; J. G. Dodson, *r.* Oct., 1884; G. O. Trevelyan.

APP. II.

THE FIRST GLADSTONE CABINET (Dec., 1868, to Feb., 1874)—(*continued*).

First Commr. of Public Works	[ ].
Postmaster-General	M. of Hartington, *t.* Jan., 1871; [ ].
Vice-President of the Council	[ ]; W. E. Forster, July, 1870.
Lord-Lieut. of Ireland	[ ].
Irish Secretary	C. Fortescue, *t.* Jan., 1871; M. of Hartington.

THE FIRST SALISBURY CABINET (July, 1885, to Feb., 1886).

Prime Minister	M. of Salisbury.
First Lord of Treasury	E. of Iddesleigh (Sir S. Northcote).
Ld. Chancellor	Ld. Halsbury.
Ld. President of Council	Visct. Cranbrook.
Ld. Privy Seal	E. of Harrowby.
Home Secretary	Sir R. A. Cross.
Foreign Secretary	M. of Salisbury.
Colonial Secretary	Colonel Stanley.
Secretary for War	W. H. Smith, *t.* Jan., 1886; Visct. Cranbrook.
Secretary for India	Ld. R. Churchill.
First Lord of Admiralty	Ld. G. Hamilton.
Chancellor of Exchequer	Sir M. Hicks Beach.
President of Board of Trade	D. of Richmond, *t.* Aug., 1885; E. Stanhope.
Postmaster-General	Ld. J. Manners.
President of Local Government Board	[ ].
Chancellor of Duchy of Lancaster	[ ].
Lord-Lieut. of Ireland	E. of Carnarvon, *r.* Jan., 1886; placed in commission.
Lord Chancellor of Ireland	Ld. Ashbourne.
Irish Secretary	[ ]; W. H. Smith, Jan., 1886.
Sec. for Scotland, created Aug., 1885	D. of Richmond.
Vice-President of Council	E. Stanhope, *t.* Aug., 1885; [ ].
President of Board of Agriculture, created August, 1889	

THE FOURTH GLADSTONE AND ROSEBERY CABINETS (Aug., 1892, to June, 1895).

Prime Minister	W. E. Gladstone, *r.* Feb., 1894; E. of Rosebery.
First Lord of Treasury	W. E. Gladstone, *r.* Feb., 1894; E. of Rosebery.
Ld. Chancellor	Ld. Herschell.

THE SECOND DISRAELI OR BEACONSFIELD CABINET (Feb., 1874, to April, 1880)—(*continued*).

[ ].
Ld. J. Manners.
[ ].
[ ].
[ ]; Sir M. Hicks Beach, Feb., 1877; *t.* Feb., 1878; [ ].

THE SECOND GLADSTONE CABINET (April, 1880, to July, 1885)—(*continued*).

[ ]; E. of Rosebery, Feb., 1885.
[ ]; G. J. Shaw-Lefevre, Feb., 1855.
[ ].
[ ]; E. Spencer, May, 1882.
W. E. Forster, *r.* May, 1882; [ ].

THE THIRD GLADSTONE CABINET (Feb. to Aug., 1886).

W. E. Gladstone.
W. E. Gladstone.

Ld. Herschell.
E. Spencer.
W. E. Gladstone.
H. C. E. Childers.
E. of Rosebery.

E. Granville.

H. Campbell-Bannerman.

E. of Kimberley.
M. of Ripon.
Sir W. Vernon Harcourt.

A. J. Mundella.

[ ]; G. J. Shaw-Lefevre, Feb., 1885.
J. Chamberlain, *r.* March, 1886; J. Stansfeld.
[ ].
[ ].

[ ].
J. Morley.

G. O. Trevelyan, *r.* April, 1886; [ ].

[ ].

THE SECOND SALISBURY CABINET (Aug., 1886, to Aug., 1892).

M. of Salisbury.
M. of Salisbury, *t.* Jan., 1887; W. H. Smith, *d.* Oct., 1891; A. J. Balfour.
Ld. Halsbury.
Visct. Cranbrook.
[ ]; E. Cadogan, April, 1887.
H. Matthews.
E. of Iddesleigh, *r.* Dec., 1886; the M. of Salisbury.
E. Stanhope, *t.* Jan., 1886; Sir H. Holland created Ld. Knutsford in 1888.
W. H. Smith, *t.* Jan., 1887; E. Stanhope.
Visct. Cross.
Ld. G. Hamilton.
Ld. R. Churchill, *r.* Dec., 1886; G. J. Goschen.
Ld. Stanley of Preston (Col. Stanley), *t.* Feb., 1888; Sir M. Hicks Beach.
[ ].
[ ]; C. T. Ritchie, April, 1887.

Ld. J. Manners.
[ ].

Ld. Ashbourne.
Sir M. Hicks Beach, *r.* March, 1887; contd. without office until Jan., 1888; A. J. Balfour, *t.* Oct., 1891; [ ].
[ ]; A. J. Balfour, Oct., 1886, *t.* March, 1887; [ ].
[ ].
H. Chaplin.

THE THIRD SALISBURY CABINET (June. 1895, to July, 1902).

M. of Salisbury.

A. J. Balfour.

Ld. Halsbury.

THE FOURTH GLADSTONE AND ROSEBERY CABINETS (Aug., 1892, to June, 1895)—*(continued)*.

APP. II.

Ld. President of Council	E. of Kimberley, *t.* Feb., 1894; E. of Rosebery.
Ld. Privy Seal	W. E. Gladstone, *r.* Feb., 1894; Ld. Tweedmouth.
Home Secretary	H. H. Asquith.
Foreign Secretary	E. of Rosebery, *t.* Feb., 1894; E. of Kimberley.
Colonial Secretary	M. of Ripon.
Secretary for War	Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman.
Secretary for India	E. of Kimberley, *t.* Feb., 1894; Sir H. H. Fowler.
Chancellor of Exchequer	Sir W. V. Harcourt.
First Lord of Admiralty	Earl Spencer.
President of Board of Trade	A. J. Mundella, *r.* May, 1894; J. Bryce.
Postmaster-General	A. Morley.
President of Local Government Board	H. H. Fowler, *t.* Feb., 1894; G. J Shaw-Lefevre.
Chancellor of Duchy of Lancaster	J. Bryce, *t.* May, 1894; Ld. Tweedmouth.
First Commr. of Works	G. J. Shaw-Lefevre, *t.* Feb., 1894; [ ].
Lord-Lieut. of Ireland	[ ].
Lord Chancellor of Ireland	[ ].
Irish Secretary	J. Morley.
Secretary for Scotland	Sir G. O. Trevelyan.
Vice-President of Council	A. H. D. Acland.
President of Board of Agriculture	[ ].

THE THIRD SALISBURY CABINET (June, 1895, to July, 1902)—(*continued*).

D. of Devonshire (M. of Hartington). APP. II.

Visct. Cross.

Sir M. White-Ridley, *r.* Nov., 1900; C. T. Ritchie.
M. of Salisbury, *r.* Nov., 1900; M. of Lansdowne.
J. Chamberlain.
M. of Lansdowne, *t.* Nov., 1900 W. St. John Brodrick.
Ld. G. Hamilton.

Sir M. Hicks Beach.
G. J. Goschen, *r.* Nov., 1900; E. of Selborne.
C. T. Ritchie, *t.* Nov., 1900; G. Balfour.
[ ].
H. Chaplin, *r.* Nov., 1900; Walter Long.
Ld. James of Hereford.

A. Akers-Douglas.

E. Cadogan.
Ld. Ashbourne.
[ ].
Ld. Balfour of Burleigh.
[ ].
W. Long, *t.* Nov., 1900; R. W. Hanbury.

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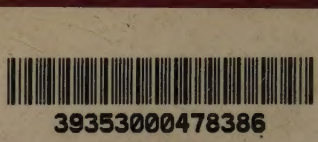
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